R W G

THE REHEARSAL TRANSPROS'D:

OR,

Animadverſions

Upon a late BOOK, entituled,

A PREFACE,

SHEWING

What Grounds there are of Fears and Jealouſies of Popery.

LONDON,

Printed in the Year, 1672.

VVho knowe[illegible] not th[illegible]
Of Britains union *first*: whose vertues great

VVho knowes not th[illegible]
Of Britains union *first*; whose vertues great
VVere more than equall to his royall seat;
VVhose matchlesse wisedome, and most learned quill
Did nectar and ambrosia distill,
And ravisht with amazements all who heard him,
But most for active prudence all admir'd him.
Happie in all his life, whose worthie name
A peaceable *Augustus* did proclaime.
VVho conquered more by wit, than by the sword,
And made all *Europe* muuh regard his word.
And good *King Charles* the son of such a Father,
Thrise happie by thy Virgine Crovvn; yea rather
More happie, if more happinesse can be,
In earthly things, by thy high pedegrie;

But

Then gold, let *Midas* heap it up in ſtore:
And though wyne glad the heart, yet ſtirres it ſtrife,
But graine the ſtaffe is which ſuſtaines our life:
So humane fellowſhip to intertaine,
Our fiſhes and our corners bring oile and wyne.
But above all our ſoile throughout all parts
Beares braveſt Chiftans, with couragious hearts:
Theſe be the bar of conqueſt, and the wall,
Which our moſt hatefull foes could never ſcall.
Would you behold one *Hannibal* o'returne
Fourſcore of thouſands? looke to *Bannokburne*:
Or would you ſee *Xerxes* his overthrow
And flight by boat? *Edward* the ſecond know:
Or *Carthaginian* towres with all their mights
Deſtroy'd? view *Camelon* with faithleſſe *Pights*:

Couragious worthies of Scotland.

Or

All ſoyls ſhould have, yet none brings all things forth,
Yea grounds moſt barren oft have greateſt worth
Contained in their bowels: this to tell us,
Non omnia producit omnis tellus.
Hence comes that men their gold for yron change,
And ſo far from there native countries rainge,
Their ſofteſt ſilk for courſeſt canvaſſe give,
Becauſe by commerce men do better live,
Then by ſuch things their native grounds forth meaſure,
By traffike they do finde more gaine and pleaſure:
Yea things more ſimple much more uſefull are,
And for mans well more profitable far.
Thus yron ſerves for all brave arts, much more
Then gold, let *Midas* heap it up in ſtore:
And though wyne glad the heart, yet ſtirres it ſtrife,

Or would yee know great *Caſtriot*, whoſe bones
Could Martiall vertue give, dig'd from the ſtones,
Where he did buried ly? take for that part
The *Bruſſe* and *Douglas*, carrying his heart
Through many lands, intending it to have
Solemnly buried in the *Holy-grave*.
This heart though dead, within their hearts begetting
Brave hearts, 'gainſt dangers their bold breaſts outſetting.
VVould you a King for zeale unto Gods houſe
Like Iſraels *David*? Our Saint *David* chuſe.
Or know *King James the firſt*, like *Julius Cæſar*,
Or *Gregorie* like *Alexander*: theſe are
VVith many more the vvorthies, vvhoſe renovvn
By martiall deeds have keeped cloſe this crown.

R W F.

THE

REHEARSAL TRANSPROS'D:

OR,

Animadverſions

Upon a late BOOK, entituled,

A PREFACE,

SHEWING

What Grounds there are of Fears and Jealouſies of Popery.

LONDON,

Printed in the Year, 1672.

C Cup.406.j.5.

Animadverſions upon the Preface to Biſhop Bramhall's *Vindication, &c.*

THe Author of this Preface had firſt writ a *Diſcourſe of Eccleſiaſtical Policy*; after that, *A Defence and Continuation of the Eccleſiaſtical Policy*; and there he concludes his Epiſtle to the Reader in theſe words: *But if this be the Penance I muſt undergo for the wantonneſs of my Pen, to anſwer the impertinent and ſlender Exceptions of every peeviſh and diſingenuous Caviller; Reader, I am reformed from my incontinency of Scribling, and do here heartily bid thee an Eternal Farewell.* Now this Expreſſion lyes open to his own *Dilemma* againſt the Nonconformiſts confeſſing in their prayers to God ſuch heinous Enormities. For if he will not accept his own Charge, his Modeſty

is all impudent and counterfeit: Or, if he will acknowledge it, why then he had been before, and did ſtill remain upon Record, the ſame lewd, wanton, and incontinent Scribler.

But, however, I hop'd he had been a Clergy-man of Honour, and that when herein the World and he himſelf were now ſo fully agreed in the cenſure of his Writings, he would have kept his Word; or at leaſt that his Pen would not, ſo ſoon, have created us a diſturbance of the ſame nature, and ſo far manifeſted how indifferent he is as to the buſineſs either of Truth or Eternity. But the Author, alas, inſtead of his own, was faln now into *Amarylli's*'s Dilemma: (I perceive the Gentleman hath travelled by his remembring *Chi lava la teſta al aſino perde il ſapone*, and therefore hope I may without Pedantry quote the words in her own *whining* Italian)

S'il peccar è ſi dolce e'l non peccar ſi neceſſario,
O troppo imperfetta Natura che ripugnia la Legge. *O*

BRITISH MUSEUM 15 72 FEB

O troppo dura Legge che Natura offendi.

If to ſcrible be ſo ſweet, and not to ſcrible be ſo neceſſary;
O too frail Inclination, that contradicteth Obligation:
O too ſevere Obligation, that offendeſt Inclination.

For all his Promiſe to write no more, I durſt alwayes have laid Ten pound to a Crown on Natures ſide. And accordingly he hath now bleſſed us with, as he calls it, *A Preface, ſhewing what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealouſies of Popery.*

It will not be unpleaſant to hear him begin his Story. *The enſuing Treatiſe of Biſhop* Bramhall's *being ſomewhat ſuperannuated, the* Bookſeller *was very ſollicitous to have it ſet off with ſome Preface that might recommend it to the Genius of the Age, and reconcile it to the preſent juncture of Affairs.* A pretty task indeed: That is as much as to ſay, To trick up the good old Biſhop in a yellow Coif and a Bulls-head, that he

may be fit for the Publick, and appear in Faſhion. In the mean time 'tis what I alwayes preſaged: From a Writer of Books, our Author is already dwinled to a Preface-monger, and from Prefaces I am confident he may in a ſhort time be improved to endite Tickets for the Bear-Garden. But the Bookſeller I ſee was a cunning Fellow, and knew his Man. For who ſo proper as a young Prieſt to ſacrifice to the Genius of the Age; yea, though his Conſcience were the Offering? And none more ready to nick a juncture of Affairs than a malapert Chaplain; though not one indeed of a hundred but diſlocates them in the handling. And yet our Author is very maidenly, and condeſcends to his Bookſeller not without ſome reluctance, as being, forſooth, firſt of all *none of the moſt zealous Patrons of the Preſs*.

Though he hath ſo lately forfeited his Credit, yet herein I dare believe him: For the Preſs hath ought him a ſhame a long time, and is but now beginning to pay off the Debt. The Preſs

(that

(that *villanous* Engine) invented much about the ſame time with the Reformation, that hath done more miſchief to the Diſcipline of our Church, than all the Doctrine can make amends for. 'Twas an happy time when all Learning was in Manuſcript, and ſome little Officer, like our Author, did keep the Keys of the Library. When the Clergy needed no more knowledg then to read the Liturgy, and the Laity no more Clerkſhip than to ſave them from Hanging. But now, ſince Printing came into the World, ſuch is the miſchief, that a Man cannot write a Book but preſently he is anſwered. Could the Preſs but once be conjured to obey only an *Imprimatur*, our Author might not diſdain *perhaps* to be one of its moſt zealous Patrons. There have been wayes found out to baniſh Miniſters, to fine not only the People, but even the Grounds and Fields where they aſſembled in Conventicles: But no Art yet could prevent theſe ſeditious meetings of Letters. Two or three brawny Fellows in a Corner, with meer Ink and

Elbow-greaſe, do more harm than an *hundred Schiſmatical Divines* with their *ſweaty Preaching*. And, which is a ſtrange thing, the very Spunges, which one would think ſhould rather deface and blot out the whole Book, and were anciently uſed to that purpoſe, are become now the Inſtruments to make things legible. Their ugly Printing-Letters, that look but like ſo many rotten-Teeth, How oft have they been pull'd out by B. and L. the Publick-Tooth-drawers! and yet theſe raſcally Operators of the Preſs have got a trick to faſten them again in a few minutes, that they grow as firm a Set, and as biting and talkative as ever. O *Printing!* how haſt thou diſturb'd the Peace of Mankind! that Lead, when moulded into Bullets, is not ſo mortal as when founded into Letters! There was a miſtake ſure in the Story of *Cadmus*; and the Serpents Teeth which he ſowed, were nothing elſe but the Letters which he invented. The firſt Eſſay that was made towards this Art, was in ſingle Characters upon Iron, where-

with

with of old they ſtigmatized Slaves and remarkable Offenders; and it was of good uſe ſometimes to brand a Schiſmatick. But a *bulky* Dutchman diverted it quite from its firſt Inſtitution, and contriving thoſe innumerable *Syntagmes* of Alphabets, hath peſtred the World ever ſince with the *groſs Bodies of their German Divinity*. One would have thought in Reaſon that a Dutchman at leaſt might have contented himſelf only with the Wine-preſs.

But, next of all, our Author, beſide his averſion from the Preſs, alledges, that *he is as much concerned as* De-wit, *or any of the High and Mighty Burgomaſters, in matters of a cloſer and more comfortable importance to himſelf and his own Affairs*. And yet who ever ſhall take the pains to read over his Preface, will find that it intermeddles with the King, the Succeſſion, the Privy-Council, Popery, Atheiſm, Biſhops, Eccleſiaſtical Government, and above all with Nonconformity, and *J. O.* A man would wonder what this thing ſhould be of a *cloſer importance*, But being *more comfor-*

table too, I conclude it must be one of these three things; either his Salvation, or a Benefice, or a Female. Now as to Salvation he could not be so much concern'd: for that care was over; there hath been a course taken to insure all that are on his bottom. And he is yet surer of a Benefice; or else his Patrons must be very ungrateful. He can not have deserved less than a Prebend for his first Book, a *Sine-cure* for his second, and for this third a Rectorship, although it were that of *Malmsbury*. Why, then of necessity it must be a Female. For that I confess might have been a sufficient excuse from writing of Prefaces, and against the importunity of the Book-seller. 'Twas fit that all business should have given place to the work of Propagation. Nor was there any thing that could more closely import him, than that the Race and Family of the Railers should be perpetuated among Mankind. Who could in Reason expect that a Man should in the same moments undertake the labour of an Author and a Father? *Nevertheless,*

verthelesſs, he ſaith, he could not but yeeld ſo far as to improve every fragment of time that he could get into his own diſpoſal, to gratifie the Importunity of the Bookſeller. Was ever Civility graduated up and inhanc'd to ſuch a value! His Miſtris her ſelf could not have endeared a Favour ſo nicely, nor granted it with more ſweetneſs.

Was the Bookſeller more Importunate, or the Author more Courteous?

The Author was the Pink of Courteſie, the Bookſeller the Bur of Importunity.

And ſo, not being able to ſhake him off, *this*, he ſaith, *hath brought forth this Preface, ſuch an one as it is; for how it will prove, he himſelf neither is, nor (till 'tis too late) ever ſhall be a competent Judge, in that it muſt be raviſh'd out of his hands before his thoughts can poſſibly be cool enough to revive or correct the Indecencies either of its ſtile or contrivance.* He is now growing a very Enthuſiaſt himſelf. No Nonconformiſt-Miniſter, as it ſeems, could have ſpoke more *extempore.* I ſee he is not ſo civil to his Readers as he was to his Bookſeller:

and

and ſo *A. C.* and *James Collins* be gratified, he cares not how much the reſt of the World be diſobliged. Some Man that had leſs right to be faſtidious and confident, would, before he expoſed himſelf in publick, both have cool'd his Thoughts, and corrected his Indecencies: or would have conſidered whether it were neceſſary or wholſom that he ſhould write at all. Foraſmuch as one of the Ancient *Sophiſts* (they were a kind of Orators of his Form) kill'd himſelf with declaming while he had a Bone in his Throat, and *J.O.* was ſtill in being. *Put up your Trumpery good noble Marqueſs.* But there was no holding him. Thus it muſt be, and no better, when a man's Phancy is up, and his Breeches are down; when the Mind and the Body make contrary Aſſignations, and he hath both a Bookſeller at once and a Miſtris to ſatisfie: Like *Archimedes*, into the Street hé runs out naked with his Invention. And truly, if at any time, we might now pardon this Extravagance and Rapture of our Author; when he was pearch'd upon

the

the higheſt Pinacle of Eccleſiaſtical Felicity, being ready at once to aſſwage his Concupiſcence, and wreck his Malice.

But yet he knows not which way his Mind will work it ſelf and its thoughts. This is *Bayes* the Second. — *'Tis no matter for the Plot — The Intrigo was out of his head — But you'l apprehend it better when you ſee't.* Or rather, he is like *Bayes* his Actors, *that could not gueſs what humour they were to be in: whether angry, melancholly, merry, or in Love.* Nay, inſomuch that he ſaith, *he is neither Prophet nor Aſtrologer enough to foretel.* Never Man certainly was ſo unaquainted with himſelf. And, indeed, 'tis part of his diſcretion to avoid his acquaintance and tell him as little of his mind as may be: for he is a dangerous fellow. But I muſt ask his pardon if I treat him too homely. It is his own fault that miſled me at firſt, by concealing his quality under ſuch vulgar compariſons as *De-wit* and the *Burgomaſters*. I now ſee it all along; This can be no leſs a man then Prince

Volſcices

Volſcius himſelf, in diſpute betwixt his Boots which way his mind will *work it ſelf*; whether Love ſhall detain him with his *cloſer Importance*, Parthenope, *whoſe Mother, Sir, ſells Ale by the Town-Wall*: or Honour ſhall carry him *to head the Army that lies concealed for him at Knightsbridge*, and to incounter *J. O.*

Go on cryes Honour: tender Love ſaith Nay.
Honour aloud commands, Pluck both Boots on.
But ſafer Love doth whiſper, Put on none.

And ſo now when it comes that he is *not Prophet nor Aſtrologer enough to foretel* what he will do, 'tis juſt,

For as bright Day, with black approach of Night,
Contending, makes a doubtful puzzling Light;
So does my Honour and my Love together,
Puzzle me ſo, I am reſolv'd on neither.

Yet no Aſtrologer could poſſibly have more advantage and opportunity to make a Judgment. For he knew the very minute of the Conception of his Preface, which was immediately upon his Majeſties iſſuing his Declaration of Indulgence to Tender Conſciences. Nor could he be ignorant of the moment when it was brought forth. And I can ſo far refreſh his memory, that it came out in the Dog-dayes,

—the Seaſon hot, and She too near:
O mighty Love! J. O. *will be undone.*

According to the Rule in *Davenant's Ephemerides*; *But the heads which at this moment, and under the preſent Schemes and Aſpects of the Heavens he intends to treat of* (pure Sidrophel) *are theſe two: Firſt, Something of the Treatiſe it ſelf. Secondly, of the ſeaſonableneſs of its publication: and this, unleſs his Humour jade him* ('tis come to a Dog-trot already) *will lead him further into the Argument as it relates to the preſent ſtate of things, and from thence 'tis odds but he ſhall take occaſion to beſtow ſome Animadverſions upon one J. O.* There's no truſting him.

He

He doubtleſs knew from the beginning what he intended. And ſo too all his ſtory of the Bookſeller, and all the *Volo Nola's*, and *ſhall-I ſhall-I's* betwixt them, was nothing but fooling: And he now all along owns himſelf to be the Publiſher, and alledges the ſlighter and the main reaſons that induced him. Would he had told us ſo at firſt; for then he had ſaved me thus much of my labour. Though, as it chances, it lights not amiſs on our Author, whoſe delicate ſtomach could not brook that *J.O.* ſhould ſay, *he had prevailed with himſelf, much againſt his inclination, to beſtow a few (and thoſe idle) hours upon examining his Book*: and yet he himſelf ſtumbles ſo notoriouſly upon the very ſame fault at his own threſhold.

But now from this Preamble he falls into his Preface to Biſhop *Bramhall*: though indeed like *Bayes* his Prologue, that would have ſerv'd as well for an Epilogue, I do not ſee but the Preface might have paſt as wel for a Poſtſcript, or the Headſtal for a Crooper. And our Authors *Divinity* might have gone

to

to *Puſh-Pin* with the Biſhop, which of their two Treatiſes was the *Procatarctical Cauſe* of both their Edition. For, as they are coupled together, to ſay the truth, 'tis not diſcernable, as in ſome Animals, whether their motion begin at the head or the tail; whether the Author made his Preface for Biſhop *Bramhal's dear ſake*, or whether he publiſhed the Biſhop's Treatiſe for ſake of his *own dear Preface*. For my own part I think it reaſonable that the Biſhop and our Author, ſhould (like fair Gamſters at Leap-frog) ſtand and skip in their turns; and however our Author got it for once, yet, if the Bookſeller ſhould ever be ſollicitous for a Second Edition, that then the Biſhops Book ſhould have the Precedence.

But before I commit my ſelf to the dangerous depths of his Diſcourſe, which I am now upon the brink of, I would with his leave make a motion: that, inſtead of Author, I may henceforth indifferently call him *Mr. Bayes* as oft as I ſhall ſee occaſion. And that, firſt, becauſe he hath no Name or

at

at leaſt will not own it, though he himſelf writes under the greateſt ſecurity, and gives us the firſt Letters of other Mens Names before he be asked them. Secondly, becauſe he is I perceive a lover of Elegancy of Stile, and can endure no mans Tautologies but his own, and therefore I would not diſtaſte him with too frequent repetition of one word. But cheifly, becauſe *Mr. Bayes* and he do very much Symbolize; in their underſtandings, in their expreſſions, in their humour, in their contempt and quarrelling of all others, though of their own Profeſſion. Becauſe, our Divine, the Author, manages his conteſt with the ſame prudence and civility, which the Players and Poets have practiſed of late in their ſeveral Diviſions. And, laſtly, becauſe both their Talents do peculiarly lie in expoſing and perſonating the Nonconformiſts. I would therefore give our Author a Name, the memory of which may perpetually excite him to the exerciſe and higheſt improvement of that Virtue. For, our *Cicero* doth not

yet

yet equal our *Roſcius*, and one turn of *Lacy's face* hath more *Eccleſiaſtical Policy* in it, than all the Books of our Author put together. Beſides, to ſay Mr. *Bayes* is more *civil* than to ſay *Villain* and *Caitiff* though theſe indeed are more *tuant*. And, to conclude; The Irrefragable Doctor of School-Divinity, pag. 460 of his *Defence*; determining concerning Symbollical Ceremonies, hath warranted me that not only Governours, but any thing elſe, may have power to appropriate new names to things, without having abſolute authority over the things themſelves. And therefore henceforward, ſeeing I am on ſuch ſure ground, *Author*, or Mr. *Bayes*, whether I pleaſe. Now, having had our Dance, let us advance to our more ſerious Counſels.

And firſt, Our Author begins with a Panegyrick upon Biſhop *Bramhal*; a Perſon whom my age had not given me leave to be acquainted with, nor my good fortune led me to converſe with his Writings: but for whom I had collected a deep Reverence from the gene-

ral Reputation he carried, beſide the Veneration due to the Place he filled in the Church of *England*. So that our Author having a mind to ſhew us ſome proof of his Good Nature, and that his Eloquence lay'd not all in Satyr and Invectives, could not, in my opinion, have fixed upon a fitter ſubject of commendation. And therefore, I could have wiſhed for my own ſake, that I had miſſed this occaſion of being more fully informed of ſome of the Biſhop's Principles, whereby I have loſt part of that pleaſure which I had ſo long enjoyed in thinking well of ſo conſiderable a Perſon. But however, I recreate my ſelf with believing that my ſimple judgment cannot, beyond my intention, abate any thing of his juſt value with others. And ſeeing he is long ſince dead, which I knew but lately, and now learn it with regret, I am the more obliged to repair in my ſelf whatſoever breaches of his Credit, by that additional Civility which conſecrates the Aſhes of the Deceaſed. But by this means I am come to diſcern how

how it was poſſible for our Author to ſpeak a good word for any man. The Biſhop was expired, and his Writings jump much with our Author. So that if you have a mind to die, or to be of his Party, (there are but theſe two Conditions) you may perhaps be rendred capable of his Charity. And then write what you will, he will make you a Preface that ſhall recommend you and it to the *Genius* of the Age, and reconcile it to the Juncture of Affairs. But truly he hath acquitted himſelf herein ſo ill-favourdly to the Biſhop, that I do not think it ſo much worth to gain his approbation; and I had rather live and enjoy mine own Opinion, than be ſo treated. For, beſide his reflexion on the Biſhop, and the whole Age he lived in; that *he was, as far as the prejudice of the Age would permit him, an acute Philoſopher* (which is a ſufficient taſte of Mr. *Bayes* his Arrogance, that no Man, no Age can be ſo perfect but muſt abide his Cenſure, and of the officious virulence of his Humour, which infuſes it ſelf, by a malignant

remark, that (but for this acuter Philoſopher) no man elſe would have thought of, into the Praiſes of him whom he moſt intended to celebrate) If, I ſay, beſide this, you conſider the moſt elaborate and ſtudious Periods of his Commendation, you find it at beſt very ridiculous. By the Language he ſeems to tranſcribe out of the *Grand-Cyrus* and *Caſſandra*, but the Exploits to have borrowed out of the *Knight of the Sun*, and *King Arthur*. For in a luſcious and effeminate Stile he gives him ſuch a *Termagant* Character, as muſt either fright or turn the ſtomach of any Reader; *Being of a brave and enterpriſing temper, of an active and ſprightly mind, he was alwayes buſied either in contriving or performing great Deſigns.* Well, *Mr. Bayes*, I ſuppoſe by this, that he might have been an over-match to the Biſhop of *Cullen* and the Biſhop of *Strasburg*. In another place, *He finiſhed all the glorious Deſigns that he undertook.* This might have become the Biſhop of *Munſter* before he had raiſ'd the Siege from *Groningen*. *As he was able*

able to accompliſh the moſt gallant attempts, ſo he was alwayes ready not only to juſtifie their Innocence, but to make good their Bravery. I was too prodigal of my Biſhops at firſt, and now have never another left in the Gazette, which is too our Authors Magazin. *His Reputation and Innocence were both Armor of Proof againſt Toryes and Presbyterians.* But me-thinks Mr. *Bayes* having to do with ſuch dangerous Enemies, you ſhould have furniſhed him too with ſome weapon of Offence, a good old Fox, like that of another Heroe, his Contemporary in *Action upon the Scene of Ireland*, of whom it was ſung,

Down by his ſide he wore a Sword of price,
Keen as a Froſt, glaz'd like a new made Ice:
That craeks men ſhell'd in Steel in a leſs trice,
Than Squirrels Nuts, or the Highlanders Lice.

Then he ſaith; *'Tis true, the Church of*

Ireland *was the largeſt Scene of his Actions; but yet there, in a little time, he wrought out ſuch wondrous Alterations, and ſo exceeding all belief, as may convince us that he had a mind large and active enough to have managed the Roman Empire at its greateſt extent.* This indeed of our Author's is *Great:* and yet it reacheth not a ſtrain of his fellow-*Pendets* in the Hiſtory of the *Mogol*; where he tells *Dancebment Kan, When you put your foot in the Stirrop, and when you march upon Horſeback in the front of the Cavalry, the Earth trembles under your feet, the eight Elephants that hold it on their heads not being able to ſupport it.* But enough of this Traſh.

Beſide that it is the higheſt *Indecorum* for a Divine to write in ſuch a ſtile as this [part Play-book and part-Romance] concerning a Reverend Biſhop; theſe improbable *Elogies* too are of the greateſt diſſervice to their own deſign, and do in effect diminiſh alwayes the Perſon whom they pretend to magnifie. Any worthy Man may paſs through the World unqueſtion'd

and

and ſafe with a moderate Recommendation; but when he is thus ſet off, and bedawb'd with Rhetorick, and embroder'd ſo thick that you cannot diſcern the Ground, it awakens naturally (and not altogether unjuſtly) Intereſt, Curioſity, and Envy. For all men pretend a ſhare in Reputation, and love not to ſee it ingroſſ'd and monopoliz'd, and are ſubject to enquire, (as of great Eſtates ſuddenly got) whether he came by all this honeſtly, or of what credit the Perſon is that tells the Story? And the ſame hath happened as to this Biſhop, while our Author attributes to him ſuch Atchievements, which to one that could believe the Legend of Captain *Jones*, might not be incredible. I have heard that there was indeed ſuch a Captain, an honeſt brave fellow: but a Wag that had a mind to be merry with him, hath quite ſpoil'd his Hiſtory. Had our Author epitomiz'd the Legend of ſixty ſix Books *de Virtutibus Sancti Patricii* (I mean not the Ingenious Writer of the *Friendly Debates*, but St. *Patrick* the Iriſh Biſhop) he

could not have promiſ'd us greater Miracles. And 'tis well for him that he hath eſcaped the fate of *Secundinus*, who (as *Joſſelin* relates it) acquainting *Patrick* that he was inſpired to compoſe ſomething in his Commendation, the Biſhop foretold the Author ſhould die as ſoon as 'twas perfected. Which ſo done, ſo happened. I am ſure our Author had died no other death but of this his own *Preface*, and a ſurfeit upon Biſhip *Bramhall*, if the ſwelling of Truth could have choak'd him. He tells us, I remember ſomewhere, that this ſame Biſhop of *Derry* ſaid, the *Scots* had a civil expreſſion for theſe *Improvers of Verity*, that they are *good Company*; and I ſhall ſay nothing ſeverer, than that our Author ſpeaks the language of a Lover, and ſo may claim ſome pardon, if the habit and exceſs of his Courtſhip do as yet give a tincture to his diſcourſe upon more ordinary Subjects. For I would not by any means be miſtaken, as if I thought our Author ſo ſharp ſet, or ſo neceſſitated that he ſhould make a dead Biſhop his Miſtreſs;

Miſtreſs; ſo far from that, that he hath taken ſuch a courſe, that if the Biſhop were alive, he would be out of love with himſelf. He hath, like thoſe frightful Looking-glaſſes, made for ſport, repreſented him in ſuch bloated lineaments, as, I am confident, if he could ſee his face in it, he would break the Glaſs. For, hence it falls out too, that men ſeeing the Biſhop furbiſh'd up in ſo martial accoutrements, like another *Odo* Biſhop of *Bateux*, and having never before heard of his proweſs, begin to reflect what *Giants* he defeated and what *Damſells* he reſcued. Serious Men conſider whether he were ingaged in the conduct of the *Iriſh* Army, and to have brought it over upon *England*, for the Imputation of which the Earl of *Strafford* his Patron ſo undeſervedly ſuffered. But none knows any thing of it. Others think it is not to be taken literally, but the wonderfull and unheard-of Alterations that he wrought out in *Ireland*, are meant of ſome Reformation that he made there in things of his own Function. But

then

then men ask again, how he comes to have all the honour of it, and whether all the while that great Biſhop *Uſher*, his Metropolitane, were unconcerned? For even in Eccleſiaſtical Combates, how inſtrumental ſoever the Captain hath been, the General uſually carries away the honour of the Action. But the good *Primate* was engaged in Deſigns of leſſer moment, and was writing his *de Primordiis Eccleſiæ Britanicæ*, and the Story of *Pelagius* our Countryman. He, honeſt man, was deep gone in *Grubſtreet* and *Polemical Divinity*, and troubled with fits of *Modern Orthodoxy*. He ſatisfied himſelf with being *admired by the blue and white Aprons*, and *pointed at by the more judicious Tankard-bearers*. Nay, which is worſt of all, he undertook to abate of our Epiſcopal *Grandeur*, and condeſcended indeed to reduce the Ceremonious Diſcipline in theſe Nations to the Primitive Simplicity. What then was this that Biſhop *Bramhal* did? Did he, like a Proteſtant Apoſtle, in one day convert thouſands of the *Iriſh* Papiſts? The contrary is evident,

evident by the Iriſh Rebellion and Maſſacre, which, notwithſtanding his *Publick Employment and great Abilities*, happened in his time. So that after all our Authors bombaſt, when we have ſearch'd all over, we find our ſelves bilk'd in our expectation: and he hath erected him, like a *St. Chriſtopher* in the Popiſh Churches, as big as ten Porters, and yet only imploy'd to ſweat under the burden of an *Infant*.

All that appears of him is, firſt, that he buſied himſelf about *a Catholick Agreement among the Churches of Chriſtendom*. But as to this, our Author himſelf ſaith, that he was not *ſo vain, or ſo preſuming as to hope to ſee it effected in his dayes*. And yet but two pages before he told us, that *the Biſhop finiſh'd all the glorious Deſigns which he undertook*. But this Deſign of his he draws out in ſuch a circuit of words, that 'tis better taking it from the Biſhop himſelf, who ſpeaks more plainly alwayes, and much more to the purpoſe. And he ſaith, pag. 87 of his Vindication, *My deſign is rather to reconcile the* Popiſh Party *to the*

the Church of England, *than the Church of* England *to the* Pope. And how he manages it, I had rather any man would learn by reading over his own Book, than that I ſhould be thought to miſrepreſent him, which I might, unleſs I tranſcribed the whole. But in ſumme it ſeems to me that he is upon his own ſingle judgment too liberal of the Publick, and that he retrenches both on our part more than he hath Authority for, and grants more to the Popiſh than they can of right pretend to. It is however indeed a moſt glorious Deſign, to reconcile all the Churches to one Doctrine and Communion (though ſome that meddle in it do it chiefly in order to fetter men ſtraiter under the formal bondage of fictitious Diſcipline); but it is a thing rather to be wiſhed and prayed for, than to be expected from theſe kind of endeavours. It is ſo large a Field, that no man can ſee to the end of it; and all that have adventured to travel it, have been bewildred. That Man muſt have a vaſt opinion of his own ſufficiency, that can think he may by

by his Oratory or Reaſon, either in his own time, or at any of our Author's *more happy Junctures of Affairs*, ſo far perſwade and faſcinate the *Roman*-Church, having by a regular contexture of continued Policy for ſo many Ages interwoven it ſelf with the Secular Intereſt, and made it ſelf neceſſary to moſt Princes, and having at laſt erected a Throne of Infallibility over the Conſciences, as to prevail with her to ſubmit a Power and Empire ſo acquired and eſtabliſhed in Compromiſe to the Arbitration of an humble Propoſer. God only in his own time, and by the inſcrutable methods of his Providence is able to effect that *Alteration*: though I think too he hath ſignified in part by what means he intends to accompliſh it, and to range ſo conſiderable a Church, and once ſo exemplary, into Primitive Unity and Chriſtian Order. In the mean time ſuch Projects are fit for pregnant Scholars that have nothing elſe to to, to go big with for forty years, and may qualifie them to diſcourſe with Princes and States-

States-men at their hours of leiſure; but I never ſaw that they came to Uſe or Poſſibility: No more than that of *Alexanders* Architect, who propoſed to make him a Statue of the Mountain *Athos* (and that was no Molehill); and among other things, that Statue to carry in its hand a great habitable City. But the Surveyor was gravell'd, being asked whence that City ſhould be ſupplied with Water. I would only have ask'd the Biſhop, when he had carv'd and hammer'd the Romiſts and Proteſtants into one *Coloſſian*-Church, how we ſhould have done as to matter of † Bibles. For the Biſhop, p. 117. complains that unqualified people ſhould have a promiſcuous Licence to reade the Scriptures: and you may gueſs thence, if he had moreover the Pope to friend, how the Laity ſhould have been uſed. There have been attempts in former Ages to dig through the Separating *Iſtmos* of *Peloponneſus*; and another to make communication between the *Red-Sea* and the *Mediterranean*: † both more eaſie than to cut this *Eccleſiaſtick*

ſiaſtick Canal, and yet both laid by, partly upon the difficulty of doing it, and partly upon the inconveniences if it had been effected. I muſt confeſs freely, yet I ask pardon for the preſumption, that I cannot look upon theſe undertaking Church-men, however otherwiſe of excellent Prudence and Learning, but as men ſtruck with a Notion, and craz'd on that ſide of their head. And ſo I think even the Biſhop had much better have buſied himſelf in Preaching in his own Dioceſs, and diſarming the Papiſts of their Arguments, inſtead of rebating our weapons; than in taking an *Oecumenical* care upon him, which none called him to, and, as appears by the ſequel, none conn'd him thanks for. But if he were ſo great a Politician as I have heard, and indeed believe him to have been, me-thinks he ſhould in the firſt place have contrived how we might live well with our Proteſtant Neighbours, and to have united us in one Body under the King of *England*, as Head of the Proteſtant Intereſt, which might have

have rendred us more conſiderable, and put us into a more likely poſture to have reduced the Church of *Rome* to Reaſon. For the moſt leading Party of the *Engliſh* Clergy in his time retained ſuch a Pontifical ſtiffneſs towards the Foreign Divines, that it puts me in mind of *Auſtin* the Monk, when he came into *Kent*, not deigning to riſe up to the *Britiſh* or give them the hand, and could ſcarce afford their Churches either Communion or Charity, or common Civility. So that it is not to be wondred if they alſo on their parts look'd upon our Models of Accommodation with the ſame jealouſie that the *Britiſh* Chriſtians had of *Auſtin*'s Deſign, to unite them firſt to (that is, under) the *Saxons*, and then deliver them both over bound to the Papal Government and Ceremonies. But ſeeing hereby our hands were weakened, and there was no probability of arriving ſo near the end of the work, as to a conſent among Proteſtants abroad; had the Biſhop but gone that ſtep, to have reconciled the Eccleſiaſtical Differences in our

our own Nations, and that we might have ſtood firm at home before we had taken ſuch a Jump beyond-Sea, it would have been a Performance worthy of his Wiſdom. For at that time the Eccleſiaſtical Rigours here were in the higheſt ferment, and the Church in being arrayed it ſelf againſt the peaceable Diſſenters only in ſome points of Worſhip. And what great Undertaking could we be ripe for abroad, while ſo divided at home? or what fruit expected from the labour of thoſe Mediating Divines in weighty matters, who were not yet paſt the Sucking-bottle; but ſeem'd to place all the buſineſs of Chriſtianity in perſecuting men for their Conſciences, differing from them in ſmaller matters? How ridiculous muſt we be to the Church of *Rome* to interpoſe in her Affairs, and force our Mediation upon her; when, beſides our ill correſpondence with the Foreign Proteſtants, ſhe muſt obſerve our weakneſs within our ſelves, that we could not, or would not ſtep over a ſtraw, though for the perpetual ſettle-

ment and ſecurity of our Church and Nation? She might well look upon us as thoſe that probably might be forced at ſome time by our folly to call her in to our aſſiſtance (for with no Weapons or Arguments but what are fetch'd out of her Arſenals can the Ceremonial-Controverſie be rightly defended) but never could ſhe conſider us as of ſuch Authority or Wiſdom, as to give Ballance to her Counſels. But this was far from Biſhop *Bramhall*'s thoughts; who, ſo he might (like *Cæſar*) *manage the Roman Empire at its utmoſt extent*, had quite forgot what would conduce to the Peace of his own Province & Country. For, p. 57. he ſettles this Maxime as a Truth, *That ſecond Reformations are commonly like Metal upon Metal, which is falſe Heraldry.* Where, by the way, it is a wonder that our Author in enumerating the Biſhop's perfections in Divinity, Law, Hiſtory, and Philoſophy, neglected this peculiar gift he had in Heraldry; and omitted to tell us that his Mind was large enough to have animated the Kingdoms of *Garter* and *Clarencieux*.

rencieux at their greateſt dimenſions. But, beſide what I have ſaid already in relation to this Project upon *Rome*, there is this more, which I confeſs was below Biſhop *Bramhall's* reflexion, and was indeed fit only for ſome vulgar Politician, or the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* about the late Union: Whether it would not have ſucceeded, as in the conſolidation of Kingdoms, where the Greateſt ſwallows down the Leſs; ſo alſo in Church-Coalition, that though the Pope had condeſcended (which the Biſhop owns to be his Right) to be only a Patriarch, yet he would have ſwoop'd up the Patriarchate of *Lambeth* to his Mornings-draught, like an Egg in Muſcadine. And then there is another Danger always when things come once to a Treaty, that, beſide the debates of Reaſon, there is a better way of tampering to bring Men over that have a Power to conclude. And ſo who knows in ſuch a Treaty with *Rome*, if the *Alps* (as it is probable) would not have come over to *England*, as the Biſhop deſigned it, *England* might not have been ob-

liged, lying ſo commodious for Navigation, to undertake a Voyage to *Civita Vechia?* But what though we ſhould have made all the Advances imaginable, it would have been to no purpoſe: and nothing leſs than an intire and total reſignation of the Proteſtant Cauſe would have *contented* her. For the Church of *Rome* is ſo well ſatisfied of her own ſufficiency, and hath ſo much more wit than we had in Biſhop *Bramhall*'s days, or ſeem to have yet learn'd; that it would have ſucceeded juſt as at the Council of *Trent*. For there, though many Divines of the greateſt Sincerity and Learning, endeavoured a Reformation, yet no more could be obtained of Her than the Nonconformiſts got of thoſe of the Church of *England* at the Conference of *Worceſter-Houſe*. But on the contrary, all her Exceſſes and Errors were further rivited and confirmed, and that great Machine of her Eccleſiaſtical Policy there perfected.

So that this Enterpriſe of Biſhop *Bramhalls*, being ſo ill laid and ſo unſeaſonable, deſerves rather an Excuſe than

than a Commendation. And all that can be gathered beſides out of our Author concerning him is of little better value; for he ſaith indeed, that *he was a zealous and reſolute Aſſertor of the Publick Rites and Solemnities of the Church.* But thoſe things, being only matters of external neatneſs, could never merit the Trophies that our Author erects him. For neither can a Juſtice of Peace for his ſeverity about Dirt-baskets deſerve a Statue. And as for *his expunging ſome dear and darling Articles from the Proteſtant Cauſe*, it is, as far as I can perceive, onely his ſubſtituting ſome *Arminian* Tenets (which I name ſo, not for reproach, but for difference) inſtead of the *Calvinian* Doctrines. But this too could not challenge all theſe Triumphal Ornaments in which he inſtalls him: For, I ſuppoſe theſe were but meer *miſtakes on either ſide, for want of being* (as the Biſhop ſaith pag. 134.) *ſcholaſtically ſtated; and that he, with a diſtinction of School-Theologie, could have ſmoothed over and plained away theſe knots though they had been much harder.*

For the reſt, which he leaves us to ſeek for, and I meet caſually with in the Biſhop's own Book; I find him to have been doubtleſs a very good-natur'd Gentleman. Pag. 160. *He hath much reſpect for poor Readers*; and pag. 161. He judges *that if they come ſhort of Preachers in point of Efficacy, yet they have the advantage of Preachers as to point of Security.* And pag. 163. He commends the care taken by *the Canons that the meaneſt Cure of Souls ſhould have formal Sermons at leaſt four times every year.* Pag. 155. He *maintains the Publick Sports on the Lords-day by the Proclamation to that purpoſe, and the Example of the Reformed Churches beyond-Sea*: and *for the Publick Dances of our Youth upon Country-Greens on Sundayes, after the duties of the day, he ſees nothing in them but innocent, and agreeable to that under-ſort of people.* And pag. 117. (which I quoted before) he *takes the promiſcuous Licence to unqualified perſons to reade the Scriptures, far more prejudicial, nay, more pernitious, than the over-rigorous reſtraint of the Romaniſts.* And indeed,

indeed, all along he complies much for peace-ſake, and judiciouſly ſhews us wherein our ſeparation from the Church of *Rome* is not warrantable. But although I cannot warrant any man who hence took occaſion to traduce him of Popery, the contrary of which is evident, yet neither is it to be wondred, if he did hereby lye under ſome imputation, which he might otherwiſe have avoided. Neither can I be ſo hard-hearted as our Author in the Nonconformiſts caſe of Diſcipline, to think it were better that *he, or a hundred more Divines of his temper ſhould ſuffer, though innocent, in their Reputation, than that we ſhould come under a poſſibility of loſing our Religion.* For as they (the Biſhop, and I hope moſt of his Party) did not intend it ſo, neither could they have effected it. But he could not expect to enjoy his Imagination without the annoyances incident to ſuch as dwell in the middle ſtory: the Pots from above, and the Smoak from below. And thoſe Churches which are ſeated nearer upon the Frontire of Popery, did natural-

ly and well if they took Alarm at the March. For, in fact, that incomparable Perſon *Grotius* did yet make a Bridge for the Enemy to come over; or at leaſt laid ſome of our moſt conſiderable Paſſes open to them and unguarded: a crime ſomething like what his Son *De Groot* (here's Gazette again for you) and his Son-in-law *Mombas* have been charged with. And, as to the Biſhop himſelf, his Friend; an Accuſatory Spirit would deſire no better play than he gives in his own Vindication. But that's neither my buſineſs nor humour: and whatſoever may have glanced upon him, was directed only to our Author; for publiſhing that Book, which the Biſhop himſelf had thought fit to conceal, and for his impertinent efflorescence of Rhetorick upon ſo mean Topicks, in ſo choice and copious a Subject as Biſhop *Bramhal*.

Yet though the Biſhop prudently undertook a Deſign, which he hoped not to accompliſh in his own dayes, our Author, however, was ſomething wiſer, and hath made ſure to obtain his end.

For

For the Biſhop's Honour was the furtheſt thing from his thoughts, and he hath managed that part ſo, that I have accounted it a work of ſome Piety to vindicate his Memory from ſo ſcurvy a commendation. But the Author's end was only railing. He could never have induc'd himſelf to praiſe one man but in order to rail on another. He never oyls his Hone but that he may whet his Razor; and that not to ſhave, but to cut mens throats. And whoever will take the pains to compare, will find, that as it is his only end; ſo his beſt, nay his only talent is railing. So that he hath, while he pretends ſo much for the good Biſhop, uſed him but for a Stalking-horſe till he might come within ſhot of the Forreign Divines and the Nonconformiſts. The other was only a copy of his countenance: But look to your ſelves, my Maſters; for in ſo venomous a Malice, Courteſie is always fatal. Under colour of ſome mens having taxed the Biſhop, he flyes out into a furious Debauch, and breaks the Windows, if he could, would raze

the

the foundations of all the Proteſtant-Churches beyond Sea: but for all men at home of their perſwaſion, if he meet them in the dark he runs them thorow. He uſurps to himſelf the Authority of the Church of *England*, who is ſo well bred, that if he would have allowed her to ſpeak, ſhe would doubtleſs have treated more civilly thoſe over whom ſhe pretends no Juriſdiction: and under the names of *Germany* and *Geneva*, he rallies and rails at the whole Proteſtancy of *Europe*. For you are miſtaken in our Author (but I have worn him thread-bare) if you think he deſigns to enter the Liſts where he hath but one man to combate. Mr. *Bayes*, ye know, *prefers that one quality of fighting ſingle with whole Armies, before all the moral Virtues put together*. And yet I aſſure you, he hath ſeveral times obliged moral Virtue ſo highly, that ſhe ows him a good turn whenſoever ſhe can meet him. But it is a brave thing to be the Eccleſiaſtical *Draw-Can-Sir*; He kills whole Nations, he kills Friend and Foe; *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, *Bohemia*,

mia, Poland, Savoy, France, the *Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden,* and a great part of the Church of *England,* and all *Scotland* (for theſe, beſide many more, he mocks under the title of *Germany* and *Geneva*) may perhaps rouſe our Maſtiff, and make up a Danger worthy of his Courage. A man would gueſs that this Giant had promiſed his *Comfortable Importance,* a Simarre of the beards of all the *Orthodox Theologues* in Chriſtendom. But I wonder how he comes to be Prolocutor of the Church of *England!* For he talks at that rate as if he were a *Synodical Individuum*; nay if he had a fifth Council in his belly he could not dictate more dogmatically. There had been indeed, as I have heard, about the dayes of Biſhop *Brambal,* a ſort of Divines here of that Leaven, who being dead, I cover their names, if not for healths ſake, yet for decency, who never could ſpeak of the firſt Reformers with any patience; who pruned themſelves in the peculiar Virulency of their Pens, and ſo they might ſay a tart thing concerning the

Foreign

Forreign Churches, cared not what obloquy they caſt upon the hiſtory or the profeſſion of Religion. And thoſe men undertook likewiſe to vent their Wit and their Choler under the ſtile of the Church of *England*; and were indeed ſo far owned by her, that what preferments were in her own diſpoſal, ſhe rather conferr'd upon them. And now when they were gone off the Stage, there is riſen up this Spiritual Mr. *Bayes*; who having aſſumed to himſelf an incongruous Plurality of Eccleſiaſtical Offices, one the moſt ſevere, of Penitentiary-Univerſal to the Reformed-Churches; the other moſt ridiculous, of Buffoon-General to the Church of *England*, may be henceforth capable of any other Promotion. And not being content to enjoy his own folly, he has taken two others into Partnerſhip; as fit for his deſign, as thoſe two that clubb'd with *Mahomet* in making the *Alchoran:* who by a perverſe Wit and Repreſentation might traveſteere the Scripture, and render all the carefull and ſerious part of Religion odious

and

and contemptible. But, leſt I might be miſtaken as to the Perſons I mention, I will aſſure the Reader that I intend not *Huddibras:* For he is a man of the other Robe, and his excellent Wit hath taken a flight far above theſe Whiflers: that whoever diſlikes the choice of his Subject, cannot but commend his Performance, and calculate if on ſo barren a Theme he were ſo copious, what admirable ſport he would have made with an Eccleſiaſtical Politician. But for a *Daw-Divine* not only to foul his own Neſt in *England*, but to pull in pieces the Neſts of thoſe beyond Sea, 'tis that which I think undecent and of very ill example. There is not indeed much danger, his Book, his Letter, and his Preface being writ in Engliſh, that they ſhould paſs abroad: but, if they be printed upon incombuſtible Paper, or by reaſon of the many Avocations of our Church they may eſcape a Cenſure, yet 'tis likely they may dye at home the common fate of ſuch Treatiſes amongſt the more judicious Oylmen and Grocers. Unleſs *Mr. Bayes* be

be ſo far in love with his own Whelp, that, as a Modern Lady, he will be at the charge of tranſlating his Works into *Latin*, tranſmitting them to the Univerſities, and dedicating them in the *Vaticane*. But, ſhould they unhappily get vent abroad (as I hear ſome are already ſent over for curioſity) what ſcandal, what heart-burning and animoſity muſt it raiſe againſt our Church: unleſs they chance to take it right at firſt, and limit the Provocation within the Author. And then, what can he expect in return of his Civility, but that the Complement which paſſed betwixt *Arminius* and *Baudius* ſhould concenter upon him, that he is both *Opprobrium Academiæ*, and *Peſtis Eccleſiæ*. For they will ſee at the firſt that his Books come not out under Publick Authority, or recommendation: but only as things of Buffoonery do commonly, they carry with them their own *Imprimatur*; (But I hope he hath conſidered *Mr. L.* in private, and payed his Fees.) Neither will the Gravity therefore of their Judgments take the meaſures, I hope, either

either of the Education at our Univerſities, or of the Spitit of our Divines, or of the Prudence, Piety, and Doctrine of the Church of *England*, from ſuch an Interloper. Thoſe Gardens of ours uſe to bear much better fruit. There may happen ſometimes an ill Year, or there may be ſuch a Crab-ſtock as cannot by all ingrafting be corrected. But generally it proves otherwiſe. Once perhaps in a hundred years there may ariſe ſuch a Prodigy in the Univerſity (where all Men elſe learn better Arts and better Manners) and from thence may creep into the Church (where the Teachers at leaſt ought to be well inſtructed in the knowledge and practice of Chriſtianity) ſo prodigious a Perſon I ſay may even there be hatch'd, as ſhall neither know or care how to behave himſelf to God or Man; and who having never ſeen the receptacle of Grace or Conſcience at an Anatomical Diſſection, may conclude therefore that there is no ſuch matter, or no ſuch obligation among Chriſtians; who ſhall perſecute the Scripture it ſelf, unleſs it

will

will conform to his Interpretation; who ſhall ſtrive to put the World into Blood, and animate Princes to be the Executioners of their own Subjects for well-doing. All this is poſſible; but comes to paſs as rarely and at as long periods in our Climate, as the birth of a falſe Prophet. But unluckily, in this fatal Year of Seventy two, among all the Calamities that Aſtrologers foretel, this alſo hath befaln us. I would not hereby confirm his vanity, as if I alſo believed that any Scheme of Heaven did influence his actions, or that he were ſo conſiderable as that the Comet under which they ſay we yet labour, had fore-boded the appearance of his Preface. No, no: though he be a creature moſt noxious, yet he is more deſpicable. A Comet is of far higher quality, and hath other kind of imployment. Although we call it an Hairy-Star, it affords no prognoſtick of what breeds there: but the Aſtrologer that would diſcern our Author and his buſineſs, muſt lay by his Teleſcope, and uſe a Microſcope. You may find him ſtill

ſtill in Mr. *Calvin*'s head. Poor Mr. *Calvin* and Biſhop *Bramhal*, what crime did you dye guilty of, that you cannot lye quiet in your Graves, but muſt be conjured up on the Stage as oft as *Mr. Bayes* will ferret you? And which of you two are moſt unfortunate I cannot determine; whether the Biſhop in being alwayes courted, or the Presbyter in being alwayes rail'd at. But in good earneſt I think Mr. *Calvin* hath the better of it. For, though an ill man cannot by praiſing confer honour, nor by reproaching fix an ignominy, and ſo they may ſeem on equal terms; yet there is more in it: for at the ſame time that we may imagine what is ſaid by ſuch an Author to be falſe, we conceive the contrary to be true. What he ſaith of him indeed in this place did not come very well in: for *Calvin* writ nothing againſt Biſhop *Bramhal*, and therefore here it amounts to no more than that his Spirit forſooth had propagated an original *Waſpiſhneſs* and falſe *Orthodoxy* amongſt all his Followers. But if you look in other pages of his Book, and particularly pag. 663 of

will conform to his Interpretation; who ſhall ſtrive to put the World into Blood, and animate Princes to be the Executioners of their own Subjects for well-doing. All this is poſſible; but comes to paſs as rarely and at as long periods in our Climate, as the birth of a falſe Prophet. But unluckily, in this fatal Year of Seventy two, among all the Calamities that Aſtrologers foretel, this alſo hath befaln us. I would not hereby confirm his vanity, as if I alſo believed that any Scheme of Heaven did influence his actions, or that he were ſo conſiderable as that the Comet under which they ſay we yet labour, had fore-boded the appearance of his Preface. No, no: though he be a creature moſt noxious, yet he is more deſpicable. A Comet is of far higher quality, and hath other kind of imployment. Although we call it an Hairy-Star, it affords no prognoſtick of what breeds there: but the Aſtrologer that would diſcern our Author and his buſineſs, muſt lay by his Teleſcope, and uſe a Microſcope. You may find him

ſtill

ſtill in Mr. *Calvin*'s head. Poor Mr. *Calvin* and Biſhop *Bramhal*, what crime did you dye guilty of, that you cannot lye quiet in your Graves, but muſt be conjured up on the Stage as oft as *Mr. Bayes* will ferret you? And which of you two are moſt unfortunate I cannot determine; whether the Biſhop in being alwayes courted, or the Presbyter in being alwayes rail'd at. But in good earneſt I think Mr. *Calvin* hath the better of it. For, though an ill man cannot by praiſing confer honour, nor by reproaching fix an ignominy, and ſo they may ſeem on equal terms; yet there is more in it: for at the ſame time that we may imagine what is ſaid by ſuch an Author to be falſe, we conceive the contrary to be true. What he ſaith of him indeed in this place did not come very well in: for *Calvin* writ nothing againſt Biſhop *Bramhal*, and therefore here it amounts to no more than that his Spirit forſooth had propagated an original *Waſpiſhneſs* and falſe *Orthodoxy* amongſt all his Followers. But if you look in other pages of his Book, and particularly pag. 663 of

his *Defence*, you never ſaw ſuch a Scarcrow as he makes him. *There ſprang up a mighty Bramble on the South ſide the* Lake Lemane, *that (ſuch is the rankneſs of the ſoil) ſpread and flouriſhed with ſuch a ſudden growth, that partly by the induſtry of his Agents abroad, and partly by its own indefatigable pains and pragmaticalneſs it quite over-ran the whole Reformation.*-- You muſt conceive that *Mr. Bayes* was all this while in an Extaſy in *Dodona's Grove*; or elſe here is ſtrange work, worſe than *explicating a Poſt*, or *examining a Pillar*. A *Bramble* that had *Agents abroad*, & it ſelf an *indefatigable Bramble*. But ſtraight our Bramble is transformed to a Man, and he *makes a Chair of Infallibility for himſelf*, out of his own Bramble Timber. Yet all this while we know not his Name. One would ſuſpect it might be a Bp *Bramble*. But then *he made himſelf both Pope and Emperor too of the greateſt part of the Reformed World*. How near does this come to his Commendation of Biſhop *Bramhall* before? For our Author ſeems copious, but is indeed very poor of Expreſſion: and, as ſmiling and frowning

are

are performed in the face with the ſame muſcles very little altered ; ſo the changing of a line or two in Mr. *Bayes* at any time, will make the ſame thing ſerve for a Panegyrick or a Philippick. But what do you think of this Man? Could Miſtris *Mopſa* her ſelf have furniſhed you with a more pleaſant and worſhipful Tale? It wants nothing of perfection, but that it doth not begin with *Once upon a time*? Which Maſter *Bayes*, according to his Accuracy, if he had thought on't, would never have omitted. Yet ſome Critical People, who will exact Truth in Falſhood, and tax up an old-wife's fable to the punctuality of Hiſtory, were blaming him t'other day for placing this Bramble on the South-ſide of the *Lake Lemane*. I ſaid, it was well and wiſely done that he choſe a South Sun for the better and more ſudden growth of ſuch a Fruit-tree. Ay, ſaid they, but he means *Calvin* by the Bramble; and the *rank ſoyl on the South-ſide the Lake Lemane* is the City of *Geneva*, ſituate (as he would have it) on the South-ſide of that Lake.

Now it is ſtrange that he, having travell'd ſo well, ſhould not have obſerv'd that the Lake lies Eaſt and Weſt, and that *Geneva* is built at the Weſt end of it. Piſh, ſaid I, that's no ſuch great matter, and, as *Mr. Bayes* hath it upon another occaſion, *Whether it be ſo or no, the fortunes of Cæſar and the Roman Empire are not concerned in't.* One of the Company would not let that paſs, but told us if we look'd in *Cæſar*'s Commentaries, we ſhould find their fortunes were concern'd, for it was the *Helvetian* Paſſage, and many miſtakes might have riſen in the marching of the Army. Why then, replied I again, Whether it be Eaſt, Weſt, North, or South, there is neither *Vice* nor *Idolatry* in it, and the Eccleſiaſtical Politician may command you to believe it, and you are bound to *acquieſce* in his Judgment, whatſoever may be *your private Opinion.* Another, to continue the mirth, anſwered, That yet there might be ſome Religious Conſideration in building a Town Eaſt and Weſt, or North and South, and 'twas not a thing

ſo

ſo indifferent as men thought it: but becauſe in the Church of *England*, where the Table is ſet Altar-wiſe, the Miniſter is nevertheleſs obliged to ſtand at the North-ſide (though it be the North-end of the Table) it was fit to place the *Geneva* Presbyter in diametrical-oppoſition to him upon the *South-ſide of the Lake*. But this we all took for a cold conceit, and not enough matured. I, that was ſtill upon the doubtful and excuſing part, ſaid, That to give the right ſituation of a Town, it was neceſſary firſt to know in what poſition the Gentleman's head then was when he made his Obſervation, and that might cauſe a great diverſity, as much as this came to. Yes, replyed my next Neighbour: or, perhaps ſome roguing Boy that managed the Puppets, turned the City wrong, and ſo diſoccidented our Geographer. It was grown almoſt as good as a Play among us: and at laſt they all concluded that *Geneva* had *ſold Mr. Bayes a Bargain*, as the *Moon* ſerv'd the *Sun* in the *Rehearſal*, and in good ſooth had *turn'd her breech on him*.

But this, I doubt not, Mr. *Bayes* will bring himſelf off with Honour: but that which ſticks with me is, that our Author having undertaken to make *Calvin* and *Geneva* ridicule, hath not purſued it to ſo high a point as the Subject would have afforded. Firſt, he might have taken the name of the beaſt *Calvinus*, and of that have given the Anagram, *Lucianus*. Next, I would have turn'd him inſide outward, and have made him *Uſinulca*. That was a good Hobgoblin name to have frighted Children with. Then he ſhould have been a *Bramble* ſtill, ay, an *indefatigable Bramble* too: but after that he ſhould have continued (for in ſuch a Book a paſſage in a Play is clear gain, and a great loſs if omitted) and upon that Bramble *Reaſons grew as plentiful as Blackberries*, but both unwholſome, and they ſtain'd all the *white Aprons ſo*, that there was no getting of it out. And then, to make a fuller deſcription of the place, he ſhould have added; That near to the City of *roaring Lions* there was a Lake, and that Lake was

all

all of Brimſtone, but ſtored with overgrown Trouts, which Trouts *ſpawned Presbyterians*, and thoſe *ſpawned* the *Millecantons* of all other Fanaticks. That this Shoal of *Presbyterians landed at Geneva* and devoured all the Biſhop of *Geneva*'s Capons, which are of the greateſt ſize of any in the Reformed-World. And ever ſince their mouths have been ſo in reliſh that the Presbyterians are in all parts the very Canibals of Capons: in ſo much that if Princes do not take care, the race of Capons is in danger to be totally extinquiſhed. But that the River *Rhoſne* was ſo *ſober* and *intelligent*, that its Waters would not mix with this *Lake perillous*, but ran ſheere thorow without ever touching it: nay, ſuch is its apprehenſion leſt the Lake ſhould overtake it, that the River dives it ſelf under ground till the Lake hath loſt the ſcent: and yet when it riſes again, imagining that the Lake is ſtill at its heels, it runs on ſo impetuouſly that it chuſeth rather to paſs through the *roaring Lions*, and never thinks it ſelf ſafe

till it hath taken ſanctuary at the Popes Town of *Avinion*. He might too have proved that *Calvin* made himſelf *Pope and Emperour*, becauſe the City of *Geneva* ſtamps upon its Coyn the two-headed Imperial Eagle. And, to have given us the utmoſt Terror, he might have conſidered the Alliance and Vicinity of *Geneva* to the *Canton* of *Bern*, the Arms of which City is the Bear, (and an Argument in Heraldry, even Biſhop *Bramhal* himſelf being Judge, might have alſo held in Divinity) and therefore they keep under the Town-houſe conſtantly a whole den of Bears. So that there was never a more dangerous ſituation, nor any thing ſo carefully to be avoided by all Travellers in their wits, as *Geneva:* the *Lions* on one ſide, and the *Bears* on the other. This Story would have been Nuts to Mother Midnight, and was fit to have been imbelliſhed with Mr. *Bayes* his Allegorical Eloquence. And all that he ſaith either by fits and girds of *Calvin*, or in his juſteſt Narratives, hath leſs foundation in Nature: and is indeed twice

in-

incredible, firſt in the matter related, and then becauſe Mr. *Bayes* it comes from: or, to expreſs it ſhorter, becauſe of the Tale and the Tales-man. He is not yet come to that Authority but that his Dogmatical *Ipſe Dixits* may rather be a reaſon why we ſhould not believe him. If Mr. *Bayes* will ſpeak of Controverſy; let him enter into a regular Diſputation concerning theſe *Calvinian* Tenets, and not write an Hiſtory. Or, if he will give us the Hiſtory of *Calvin*, let him at the ſame time produce his Authors. And whether Hiſtory or Controverſy, let him be pleas'd ſo long to abate of the exuberancy of his Fancy and Wit; to diſpenſe with his Ornaments and ſuperfluencies of Invention and Satyre, and then a man may conſider whether he may believe his Story, and ſubmit to his Argument. But in the mean time (for all he pleads in pag. 97. of his *Defence*) it looks all ſo like ſubterfuge and inveagling; it is ſo nauſeating and teadious a task, that no man thinks he ows the Author ſo much ſervice as to find

find out the reaſon of his own *Categoricalneſs* for him. One may beat the Buſh a whole day; but after ſo much labour ſhall, for all game, only ſpring a Butterfly, or ſtart an Hedghog. Inſomuch that I am ever and anon diſputing with my ſelf whether Mr. *Bayes* be indeed ſo ill-natured a perſon as ſome would have him, and do not rather innocently write things (as he profeſſes pag. 4. of his *Preface*) ſo *exceeding all belief*, that he may make himſelf and the company merry. I ſometimes could think that he intends no harm either to Publick or Private, but only rails contentedly to himſelf and his Muſes; That he ſeeks onely his own diverſion, and chargeth his Gun with Wind but to ſhoot at the Air. Or that, like Boyes, ſo he may make a great Paper-Kite of his own *Letter* of 850 pages, and his *Preface* of an hundred, he hath no further deſign upon the Poultry of the Village. But he takes care that I ſhall never be long deceiv'd with that pleaſing imagination: and though his Hyperboles and Impoſſibilities can have only a ridiculous

diculous effect, he will be ſure to manifeſt that he had a felonious intention. He would take it ill if we ſhould not value him as an Enemy of Mankind: and like a raging *Indian* (for in *Europe* it was never before practiſed) he runs a *Mucke* (as they cal it there) ſtabbing every man he meets, till himſelf be knockt on the head. This here is the leaſt pernicious of all his miſchiefs: though it be no leſs in this & all his other Books, than to make the *German Proteſtancy* a reproachful Proverb, and to turn *Geneva* and *Calvin* into a Common-Place of Railing. I had alwayes heard that *Calvin* was a good Scholar, and an honeſt Divine. I have indeed read that he ſpoke ſomething contemptuouſly of our Liturgy: *Sunt in illo Libro quædam tolerabiles ineptiæ.* But that was a ſin which we may charitably ſuppoſe he repented of on his death-bed. And if Mr. *Bayes* had ſome juſt quarrel to him on that or other account, yet for *Divinity's ſake* he needed not thus have made a conſtant Piſſing-place of his Grave. And as for *Geneva* I never per-

perceived before but that it was a very laudable City, that there grew an excellent Grape on the South-ſide of the Lake *Lemane*, that a man might make good chear there, and there was a *Pall-mall*, and one might ſhoot with the *Arbalet*, or play at *Court-boule* on Sundayes. What was here to inrage our Author ſo that he muſt raze the Fort of St. *Katherine*, and attempt with the ſame ſucceſs a ſecond *Eſcalade?* But the difficulty of the Enterprize doubtleſs provoked his courage, and the honour he might win made the juſtice of his Quarrel. He knew that not only the Common-wealth of *Switzerland*, but the King of *France*, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy* would enter the liſts for the common preſervation of the place: and therefore though it be otherwiſe but a petty Town, he diſdaind not where the Race was to be run by Monarchs, to exerciſe his footmanſhip. But is it not a great pity to ſee a man in the flower of his age, and the vigor of his ſtudies, to fall into ſuch a diſtraction, That his head runs

runs upon nothing but Romane Empire and Eccleſiaſtical Policy? This happens by his growing too early acquainted with *Don Quixot*, and reading the Bible too late: ſo that the firſt impreſſions being moſt ſtrong, and mixing with the laſt, as more novel, have made ſuch a medly in his brain-pan that he is become a mad Prieſt, which of all the ſorts is the moſt incurable. Hence it is that you ſhall hear him anon inſtructing Princes, like *Sancho*, how to govern his *Iſland*: as he is buſied at preſent in vanquiſhing the *Calviniſts* of *Germany* and *Geneva*. Had he no Friends to have given him good counſel before his Underſtanding were quite unſettled? or if there were none near, why did not men call in the neighbours and ſend for the Parſon of the Pariſh to perſwade with him in time, but let it run on thus till he is fit for nothing but *Bedlam, or Hogsdon*? However though it be a particular damage, it may tend to a general advantage: and young ſtudents will I hope by his example learn to beware henceforward

forward of overweening Preſumption and prepoſterous Ambition. For this Gentelman, as I have heard, after he had read *Don Quixot* and the Bible, beſides ſuch School-Books as were neceſſary for his age, was ſent early to the *Univerſity*: and there ſtudied hard, and in a ſhort time became a competent Rhetorician, and no ill Diſputant. He had learnt how to erect a *Theſis*, and to defend it *Pro* or *Con* with a ſerviceable diſtinction: while the Truth (as his Camarade Mr. *Bayes* hath it on another occaſion.

Before a full Pot of Ale you can ſwallow,
Was here with a Whoop and gone with a Hollow.

And ſo thinking himſelf now ripe and qualified for the greateſt Undertakings, and higheſt Fortune, he therefore exchanged the narrowneſs of the Univerſity for the *Town*; But coming out of the confinment of the Square-cap and the Quadrangle into the open Air, the

the World began to turn round with him: which he imagined, though it were his own giddineſs, to be nothing leſs then the *Quadrature* of the *Circle*. This accident concurring ſo happily to increaſe the good opinion which he naturally had of himſelf, he thence-forward apply'd to gain a-like reputation with others. He follow'd the Town life, haunted the beſt companies; and, to poliſh himſelf from any Pedantick roughneſs, he read and ſaw the Playes, with much care and more proficiency than moſt of the Auditory. But all this while he forgot not the main chance, but hearing of a vacancy with a Noble man, he clapp'd in, and eaſily obtained to be his Chaplain. From that day you may take the date of his Preferments and his Ruine. For having ſoon wrought himſelf dexterouſly into his Patrons favour, by ſhort Graces and Sermons, and a mimical way of drolling upon the *Puritans*, which he knew would take both at Chappel and Table; he gained a great Authority likewiſe among all the domeſticks.

meſticks. They all liſtened to him as an Oracle: and they allow'd him by common conſent, to have not only all the *Divinity*, but more wit too than all the reſt of the family put together. This thing alone elevated him exceedingly in his own conceit, and raiſed his *Hypocondria* into the Region of the Brain: that his head ſwell'd like any Bladder with wind and vapour. But after he was ſtretch'd to ſuch an height in his own fancy, that he could not look down from top to toe but his Eyes dazled at the Precipice of his Stature; there fell out, or in, another natural chance which puſh'd him headlong. For being of an amorous Complexion, and finding himſelf (as I told you) the *Cock-Divine* and the *Cock-Wit* of the Family, he took the priviledge to walk among the Hens: and thought it was not impolitick to eſtabliſh his new-acquired Reputation upon the Gentlewomens ſide. And they that perceived he was a Riſing-Man, and of pleaſant Converſation, dividing his Day among them into Canonical hours, of reading

now the Common-prayer, and now the Romances ; were very much taken with him. The Sympathy of Silk began to ſtir and attract the Tippet to the Pettycoat and the Petticoat toward the Tippet. The innocent Ladies found a ſtrange unquietneſs in their minds, and could not diſtinguiſh whether it were Love or Devotion. Neither was he wanting on his part to carry on the Work; but ſhifted himſelf every day with a clean Surplice, and,as oft as he had occaſion to bow, he directed his Reverence towards the Gentlewomens Pew. Till, having before had enough of the Libertine, and undertaken his Calling only for Preferment ; he was tranſported now with the Sanctity of his Office,even to extaſy : and like the Biſhop over *Maudlin Colledge* Altar, or like *Maudlin de la Croix*, he was ſeen in his Prayers to be lifted up ſometimes in the Air, and once particularly ſo high that he crack'd his Scul againſt the Chappel Ceiling. I do not hear for all this that he had ever practiſed upon the Honour of the Ladies, but

that he preſerved alwayes the Civility of a *Platonick Knight-Errant*. For all this Courtſhip had no other operation than to make him ſtil more in love with himſelf : and if he frequented their company, it was only to ſpeculate his own Baby in their Eyes. But being thus, without Competitor or Rival, the Darling of both Sexes in the Family and his own Minion ; he grew beyond all meaſure elated, and that crack of his Scull, as in broken Looking-Glaſſes, multipli'd him in ſelf-conceit and imagination.

Having fixed his Center in this Nobleman's Houſe, he thought he could now move and govern the whole Earth with the ſame facility. Nothing now would ſerve him but he muſt be a mad-man in print, and write a Book of *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*. There he diſtributes all the *Territories of Conſcience* into the Princes Province, and makes the *Hierarchy* to be but Biſhops of the Air: and talks at ſuch an extravagant rate in things of higher concernment, that the Reader will avow that in the whole

diſ-

diſcourſe he had not one *lucid interval*. This Book he was ſo bent upon, that he ſate up late at nights, and wanting ſleep, and drinking ſometimes Wine to animate his Fancy, it increaſ'd h Diſtemper. Beſide that too he had the misfortune to have two Friends, who being both alſo out of their wits, and of the ſame though ſomething a calmer phrenſy, ſpurr'd him on perpetually with commendation. But when his Book was once come out, and he ſaw himſelf an Author; that ſome of the Galants of the Town layd by the new Tune and the *Tay, tay, tarry,* to quote ſome of his impertinencies; that his Title page was poſted and paſted up at every avenue next under the Play for that afternoon at the Kings or the Dukes Houſe: the Vain-Glory of this totally confounded him. He loſt all the little remains of his underſtanding, and his *Cerebellum* was ſo dryed up that there was more brains in a Walnut and both their Shells were alike thin and brittle. The King of *France* that loſt his wits, had not near ſo many

unlucky circumſtances to occaſion it: and in the laſt of all there is ſome Similitude. For, as a negligent Page that rode behind and carried the Kings Lance, let it fall on his head, the King being in Armour, and the day hot, which ſo diſordered him that he never recovered it: ſo this Gentleman, in the Dog-dayes, ſtragling by *Temple-bar*, in a maſſy Caſſock and Surcingle, and taking the opportunity at once to piſs and admire the Title-page of his Book; a tall Servant of his, one *J. O.* that was not ſo careful as he ſhould be, or whether he did it of purpoſe, lets another Book of four hundred leaves fall upon his head; which meeting with the former fracture in his *Cranium*, and all the concurrent Accidents already mentioned, has utterly undone him. And ſo in concluſion his Madneſs hath formed it ſelf into a perfect *Lycanthropy*. He doth ſo verily believe himſelf to be a Wolf, that his ſpeech is all turn'd into howling, yelling, and barking: and if there were any Sheep here, you ſhould ſee him pull out their throats and ſuck the

the blood. Alas, that a ſweet Gentleman, and ſo hopeful, ſhould miſcarry! For want of Cattel here, you find him raving now againſt all the *Calviniſts* of *England*, and worrying the whole Flock of them. For how can they hope to eſcape his chaps and his paws better than thoſe of *Germany* and *Geneva*; of which he is ſo hungry, that he hath ſcratch'd up even their dead bodies out of their Graves to prey upon? And yet this is nothing if you ſaw him in the height of his fits: but he hath ſo beaten and ſpent himſelf before, that he is out of breath at preſent; and though you may diſcover the ſame fury, yet it wants of the ſame vigor. But however you ſee enough of him, my Maſters, to make you beware, I hope, of valuing too high, and truſting too far to your own Abilities.

It were a wild thing for me to *Squire* it after this *Knight*, and accompany him here through all his Extravagancies againſt our *Calviniſts*. You find nothing but *Orthodoxy*, *Syſtems*, and *Syntagms*, *Polemical Theology*, *Subtilties*

and *Diſtinctions*. *Demoſthenes*; *Tankard-bearers*; *Pragmatical*; *Controverſial*: General terms without foundation or reaſon aſſigned. That they ſeem like words of Cabal, & have no ſignificance till they be decipher'd. Or, you would think he were playing at *Subſtantives* and *Adjectives*. All that rationally can be gathered from what he ſaith, is, that the Man is mad. But if you would ſupply his meaning with your imagination, as if he ſpoke ſenſe and to ſome determinate purpoſe; it is very ſtrange that, conceiving himſelf to be the Champion of the Church of *England*, he ſhould bid ſuch a general defiance to the *Calviniſts*. For, he knows, or perhaps I may better ſay he did know before this Phrenſy had ſubverted both his Underſtanding and Memory, that moſt of our ancient, and many of the later Biſhops nearer our times, did both hold and maintaine thoſe Doctrines which he traduces under that by-word. And the contrary Opinions were even in Biſhop *Prideaux*'s time accounted ſo novel,

novel, that, being then publick Profeſſor of *Divinity*, he thought fit to tax Doctor *Heylin* at the Commencement for his new-fangled Divinity: *Cujus*, ſaith he, in the very words of promotion, *te Doctorem creo*. He knew likewiſe that of our preſent Biſhops, though one had leiſure formerly to write a *Rationale* of the *Ceremonies* and *Liturgie*, and another a Treatiſe of the *Holineſs of Lent*; yet that moſt of them, and 'tis to be ſuppoſed all, have ſtudied other Controverſies, and at another rate than Mr. *Bayes* his Lead can fathom. And as I know none of them that hath publiſhed any Treatiſe againſt the *Calvinian* tenets, ſo I have the Honour to be acquainted with ſome of them who are intirely of that judgment, and differ nothing but, as of good reaſon, in the point of *Epiſcopacy*. And as for that, Biſhop *Bramhal* page 61. hath proved that *Calvin* himſelfe was of the *Epiſcopal* perſwaſion. So that I ſee no reaſon why Mr. *Bayes* ſhould here and every where be ſuch an enemy to *Controverſial skill*, or the *Calviniſts*. But I

perceive 'tis for Biſhop *Bramhall*'s ſake here that all the Tribe muſt ſuffer. This *Bayes* is not a good Dog: for he runs at a whole flock of Sheep, when Mr. *B.* was the Deer whom he had in view from the beginning. However, having foil'd himſelf ſo long with every thing he meets, after him now he goes, and will never leave till he hath run him down. Poor Mr. *B.* I find that when he was a Boy he pluck'd Biſhop *Bramhall's Sloes*, and *eat his Bullice*; and now, when he is as ſuperannuated as the Biſhop's book, he muſt be whipp'd for't, there is no remedy. And yet I have heard, and Mr. *Bayes* himſelf ſeems to intimate as much, that how-ever he might in his younger years have miſtaken, yet that even as early as Biſhop *Bramhall*'s Diſcourſe, he began to retract: and that as for all his ſins againſt the Church of *England*, he hath in ſome late Treatiſes cryed *Peccavi* with a Witneſs. But, Mr. *Bayes*, doth not this now look like *Sorcery* and *Extortion*, which of all crimes you purge your ſelf from ſo often without an Accuſer? For

firſt;

firſt; whereas the old Biſhop was at reſt, and had under his laſt Pillow laid by all cares and conteſts of this lower World; you by your *Necromancy* have diſturb'd him, and rais'd his Ghoſt to perſecute and haunt Mr. *B* whom doubtleſs at his death he had pardoned. But if you called him up to ask ſome Queſtions too concerning your Eccleſiaſtical Policy, as I am apt to ſuppoſe, I doubt you had no better Anſwer than in the Song:

Art thou forlorn of God, and com'ſt to me?
What can I tell thee then but miſerie?

And then, as for Extortion; who but ſuch an *Hebrew Jew* as you, would, after an honeſt man had made ſo full and voluntary Reſtitution, not yet have been ſatisfied without ſo many pounds of his fleſh over into the bargain? Though *J. O.* be in a deſperate condition, yet methinks Mr. B. not *being paſt Grace*, ſhould not neither *have been paſt Mercy*. Are there no terms of Pardon, Mr. *Bayes?* is there no time for Expiation; but, after ſo ample a Confeſſion as he hath

hath made, muſt he now be hang'd too to make good the Proverb? It puts me in mind of a Story in the time of the *Guelphs* and *Ghibilines*, whom I perceive Mr. *Bayes* hath heard of: They were two Factions in *Italy*, of which the *Guelphs* were for the Pope, and the *Ghibilines* for the Emperour; and theſe were for many years carried on and fomented with much animoſity, to the great diſturbance of Chriſtendom. Which of theſe two were the *Nonconformiſts* in thoſe dayes I can no more determine, than which of our Parties here at home is now *ſchiſmatical*. But ſo *nonconformable* they were to one another, that the Hiſtorian ſaid they took care to differ in the leaſt circumſtances of any humane action: and, as thoſe that have the Maſons Word, ſecretly diſcern one another; ſo in the peeling or cutting but of an Onion, a *Guelph* and *vice verſâ* would at firſt ſight have diſtinguiſh'd a *Ghibiline*. Now one of this latter ſort coming at *Rome* to Confeſſion upon *Aſh-wedueſday*, the Pope or the Peniten iary ſprinkling Aſhes on the Man's head with

with the uſual ceremony, inſtead of pronouncing *Memento homo quòd Cinis es & in Cinerem revertêris*, changed it to *Memento homo quòd Ghibilinus es, &c.* And even thus it fares with Mr. B. who though he ſhould creep on his knees up the whole Stairs of *Scholaſtick Penitence*, I am confident neither he, nor any of his Party, ſhall by Mr. *Bayes* his good will ever be abſolved. And therefore truly if I were in Mr. B's caſe, if I could not have my Confeſſion back again, yet it ſhould be a warning unto me not without better grounds to be ſo coming and ſo good-natured for the future. But whatever he do, I hope others will conſider what uſage they are like to find at Mr. *Bayes* hand, and not ſuffer themſelves by the touch of his *Penitential Rod* to be transformed into Beaſts, even into *Rats*, as here he hath done with Mr. B. I have indeed wondred often at this *Bayes* his inſolence, who ſummons-in all the World, and *preacheth* up only this *Repentance:* and ſo frequently in his Books he calls for *Teſtimonies, Signal Marks, Publick Acknow-*

knowledgment, Satisfaction, Recantation, and I know not what. He that hath made the paſſage to Heaven ſo eaſie that one may fly thither without Grace (as *Gonzales* to the Moon only by the help of his *Ganſa's*) he that hath *diſintricated* its narrow paths from thoſe *Labyrinths* which *J.O.* and Mr. B. have planted; this Overſeer of God's Highwayes, (if I may with reverence ſpeak it) who hath paved a broad Cauſway with Moral Virtue thorow his Kingdom; he me-thinks ſhould not have made the *proceſs of Loyalty* more difficult than that of *Salvation.* What *Signal Marks,* what *Teſtimonies* would he have of this Converſion? Every man cannot, as he hath done, write an *Eccleſiaſtical Policy,* a *Defence,* a *Preface:* and ſome, if they could, would not do it after his manner; leſt in ſtead of obliging thereby the King and the Church, it ſhould be a Teſtimony to the contrary. Neither, unleſs men have better Principles of Allegiance at home, are they likely to be reduced by Mr. *Bayes* his way of perſwaſion. He is the

firſt Miniſter of the Goſpel that ever had it in his Commiſſion *to rail at all Nations*. And, though it hath been long practiſed, I never obſerved any great ſucceſs by reviling men into *Conformity*. I have heard that *Charms* may even invite the Moon out of Heaven, but I never could ſee her moved by the *Rhetorick* of *barking*. I think it ought to be highly penal for any man to impoſe other conditions upon his Majeſties good Subjects than the King expects, or the Law requires. When you have done all, you muſt yet appear before Mr. *Bayes* his Tribunal, and he hath a new Teſt yet to put you to. I muſt confeſs at this rate the *Nonconformiſts* deſerve ſome Compaſſion: that after they have done or ſuffered legally and to the utmoſt, they muſt ſtill be ſubjected to the *Wand* of a *Verger*, or to the wanton laſh of every *Pedant*; that they muſt run the *Ganteloop*, or down with their breeches as oft as he wants the proſpect of a more pleaſing *Nudity*. But I think they may chuſe whether they will ſubmit or no to his

Juriſ-

Juriſdiction. Let them but (as I hope they do) fear God, honour the King, preſerve their Conſciences, follow their Trades, and look to their Chimnies; and they need not fear Mr. *Bayes* and and all his Malice. But after he hath ſufficiently inſulted over Mr. B's ignorance and vanity, with other Complements of the like nature, in recompence of that *candor and civility* which he acknowledges *him to have now learnt towards the Church of England*, Mr. *Bayes* (forgetting what had paſt long ſince betwixt him and the Bookſeller) ſaith, in excuſe of his ſeverity, that *this Treatiſe was not publiſhed to impair Mr. B's eſteem in the leaſt, but for a correction of his ſcribling humour, and to warn their Rat-Divines that are perpetually nibling and gnawing other mens Writings.* Now I muſt confeſs Mr. *Bayes* this is a very handſom Welcome to Mr. B. that was come ſo far to ſee you, and doubtleſs upon this encouragement he will viſit you often. This is an admirable dexterity our Author hath (I wiſh I could learn it) *to correct a man's ſcribling humour*

mour without impairing in the leaſt his reputation. He is as courteous as Lightning, and can melt the Sword without ever hurting the Scabbard. But as for their *Rat-Divines*, I wonder they are not all poyſoned with nibling at his Writings, he hath ſtrewed ſo much *Arſenick* in every leaf. But however, methinks he ſhould not have grudged them ſo ſlender a ſuſtenance. For though there was a Sow in *Arcadia* ſo fat and inſenſible that ſhe ſuffered a Rats neſt in her buttock, and they had both Dyet and Lodging in the ſame Gammon; yet it is not every *Rats* good fortune to be ſo well provided. And for *Puſhpin-Divinity*, I confeſs it is a new term of Art, and I ſhall henceforward take notice of it, bnt I am afraid in general it doth not tend much to the reputation of the Faculty.

And now, though he told us at the beginning, that the Bookſeller was the main reaſon of publiſhing this Book of the Biſhop and his own Preface, he tels us that the main reaſon of its publication was to give ſome check to their preſen

ſent diſingenuity, that is to ſay to that of *J. O.* And *J. O.* be it at preſent. He is come ſo much nearer however to the Truth, though we ſhall find ere we have done that there is ſtill a mainer reaſon.

When I firſt took no ice of this miſunderſtandi g betwixt Mr. *Bayes* and *J. O.* I conſidered whether it were not Execution-day with the whole *Latine Alphabet:* whether all the Letters were not to ſuffer in the ſame manner, except *C* only, which (having been the mark of Condemnation) might have a pardon to ſerve for the Executioner. I began to repent of my Undertaking, being afraid that the Quarrel was with the whole *Cris-croſs-Row*, and that we muſt fight it out through all the Squadrons of the *Vowels* the *Mutes*, the *Semi-vowels*, and the *Liquids*. I foreſaw a ſore and endleſs labour, and a battel the longeſt that ever was read of; being probable to continue as long as one Letter was left alive, or there were any uſe of Reading. Therefore, to ſpare mine own pains, and prevent *Ink-ſhed*, I was adviſing the Letters to go before

Mr,

Mr. *Bales*, or any other his Majeſties Juſtices of Peace, to ſwear that they were in danger of their Lives, and deſire that Mr. *Bayes* might be bound to the *Good-behaviour*. But after this I had another Phancy, and that not altogether unreaſonable; that Mr. *Bayes* had, onely for health and exerciſe--ſake, drawn *J. O.* by chance out of the number of the reſt, to try how he could rail at a Letter, and that he might be well in breath upon any occaſion of greater conſequence. For, how perfect ſoever a man may have been in any Science, yet without continual practice he will find a ſenſible decay of his faculty. Hence alſo, and upon the ſame natural ground, it is the wiſdom of Cats to whet their Claws againſt the Chairs and Hangings, in meditation of the next *Rat* they are to encounter. And I am confident that Mr. *Bayes* by this way hath brought himſelf into ſo good railing caſe, that pick what Letter you will out of the Alphabet, he is able to write an Epiſtle upon it of 723 pages (I have now told him right), to

the Author of the *Friendly Debates*.

Now though this had very much of probability, I had yet a further Conjecture; that this *J.O.* was a *Taliſman*, ſigned under ſome peculiar influence of the heavenly bodies, and that the Fate of Mr. *Bayes* was bound up within it. Whether it be ſo or no I know not: but this I am aſſured of, without the help either of *Syderal Magick* or *Judicial Aſtrologie*, that when *J* and *O* are in *Conjunction* they do more certainly than any of the *Planets* forebode that a great *Eccleſiaſtical Politician* ſhall that Year run mad. I confeſs after all this, when I was come to the dregs of my phanſie (for we all have our infirmities, and Mr. *Bayes* his *Defence* was but the *blew-John* of his *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*, and this *Preface* the Tap-droppings of his *Defence*) I reflected whether Mr. *Bayes* having no particular cauſe of indignation againſt the Letters, there might not have been a miſtake of the Printer, and that they were to be read in one word *Io* that uſes to go before *Pæan*: that is in Engliſh a Triumph before the Victory.

ctory. Or whether it alluded to *Io* that we read of at School; the Daughter of *Inachus*; and that as *Juno* perſecuted the Heifer, ſo this was an *He-Cow*, that is to ſay a *Bull* to be baited by Mr. *Bayes* the *Thunderer*. But theſe being Conceits too trivial, though a *Ragouſe* fit enough for Mr. *Bayes* his palate, I was forced moreover to quit them, remarking that it was an *J* Conſonant. And I plainly at laſt perceived that this *J. O.* was a very Man as any of us are, and had a Head, and a Mouth with Tongue and Teeth in it, and Hands with Fingers and Nails upon them: nay, that he could read and write, and ſpeak as well as I or Mr. *Bayes*, either of us. When I once found this, the buſineſs appear'd more ſerious, and I was willing to ſee what was the matter that ſo much exaſperated Mr. *Bays*, who is *a Perſon*, as he ſaith himſelf, *of ſuch a tame and ſoftly humour, and ſo cold a complexion, that he thinks himſelf ſcarce capable of hot and paſſionate impreſſions*: I concluded that neceſſarily there muſt be ſome extraordinary Accident and

Occaſion that could alter ſo good a Nature. For I ſaw that he purſued *J. O.* if not from *Poſt to Pillar*, yet from *Pillar to Poſt*, and I diſcerned all along the footſteps of a moſt inveterate and implacable Malice. As oft as he does but name thoſe two firſt Letters, he is, like the Iſland of *Fayal*, on fire in three-ſcore and ten places.

You ſee, Mr. *Bayes*, that I too have improved my wit with reading the *Gazettes*. Were you of that Fellows diet here about Town, that epicurizes upon burning Coals, drinks healths in ſcalding Brimſtone, ſcraunches the Glaſſes for his *Deſart*, and draws his breath through glowing Tobacco-pipes. Nay, to ſay a thing yet greater; had you never taſted other ſuſtenance than the Focus of *burning Glaſſes*, you could not ſhew more *fleme* than you do alwayes upon that ſubject. And yet one would think that even from the *little ſports*, with your *comfortable importance* after Supper, you ſhould have learnt when *J. O.* came into play, to *love your Love* with an J, becauſe he is *Judicious*, though

though you *hate your Love with an* J, becauſe he is *jealous*: and then to *love your Love with an O*, becauſe he is *Oraculous*, though you *hate your Love with an O*, becauſe he is *Obſcure:* Is it not ſtrange, that in thoſe moſt benign minutes of a Man's life, when the Stars ſmile, the Birds ſing, the Winds whiſper, the Fountains warble, the Trees bloſſom, and univerſal Nature ſeems to invite it ſelf to the *Bridal*; When the Lion pulls in his Claws, and the Aſpick layes by its Poyſon, and all the moſt noxious Creatures grow amorouſly innocent: that even then, Mr. *Bayes* alone ſhould not be able to refrain his Malignity? As you love your ſelf, *Madam*, let him not come near you. He hath been fed all his life with Vipers inſtead of Lampreys, and Scorpions for Crayfiſh: and if at any time he eat Chickens they had been cramb'd with Spiders, till he hath ſo invenomed his whole ſubſtance that 'tis much ſafer to bed with a Mountebank before he hath taken his Antidote. But it cannot be any vulgar fur-

pace that hath chafed ſo *cool* a Salamander. 'Tis not the ſtrewing of *Cowitch* in his *Genial-bed* that could thus diſquiet him the firſt night. And therefore let's take the Candle and ſee whether there be not ſome body underneath that hath cut the Bed-Cords. There was a worthy Divine, not many years dead, who in his younger time being of a facetious and unlucky humour, was commonly known by the name of *Tom Triplet*. He was brought up at *Pauls School*, under a ſevere Maſter, Dr. *Gill*, and from thence he went to the Univerſity. There he took liberty (as 'tis uſual with thoſe that are emancipated from School) to tel Tales, and make the Diſcipline ridiculous under which he was bred. But, not ſuſpecting the Doctor's intelligence, comming once to Town, he went in full School to give him a Viſit, and expected no leſs than to get a *Play-day* for his former acquaintance. But, inſtead of that, he found himſelf hors'd up in a trice; though he appeal'd in vain to the Priviledges of the Univerſity,

ty, pleaded *Adultus*, and invoked the mercy of the Spectators. Nor was he let down till the Maſter had planted a Grove of Birch in his back-ſide, for the Terrour and publick Example of all Waggs that divulge the Secrets of *Priſcian*, and make merry with their Teachers. This ſtuck ſo with *Triplet*, that all his life-time he never forgave the Doctor, but ſent him every New-years-tide an Anniverſary Ballad to a new Tune, and ſo in his turn avenged himſelf of his jerking Pedagogue.

Now when I obſerved that of late years Mr. *Bayes* had regularly *ſpawned* his Books; in 1670 the *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*; in 1671 the *Defence of the Eccleſiaſtical Policy*; and now in 1672 this *Preface* to Biſhop *Bramhal*, and that they were writ in a ſtile ſo vindictive and poynant, that they wanted nothing but rime to be right *Tom Triplet*; and that their edge bore alwayes upon *J. O.* either in broad meanings or in plain terms; I began to ſuſpect that where there was ſo great reſemblance in the Effects, there might be ſome parallel in

their Cauſes. For though the Peeks of Players among themſelves, or of Poet againſt Poet, or of a Conformiſt-Divine againſt a Nonconformiſt, are dangerous, and of late times have cauſed great diſturbance; yet I never remarked ſo irreconcileable and implacable a ſpirit as that of Boyes againſt their Schoolmaſters or Tutors. The quarrels of their Education have an influence upon their Memories and Underſtandings for ever after. They cannot ſpeak of their Teachers with any patience or civility; and their diſcourſe is never ſo flippant, nor their Wits ſo fluent as when you put them upon that *Theme*. Nay, I have heard old Men, otherwiſe, ſober, peaceable and good-natured, who never could forgive *Oſbolſton*, as the younger are ſtill inveighing againſt Dr. *Busby*. It were well that both old and young would reform this vice, and conſider how eaſie a thing it is upon particular grudges, and as they conceive out of a juſt cenſure, to dip either into juvenile petulancy or inveterate uncharitableneſs. And had

there

there not been ſomething of this in his own caſe, I am confident Mr. *Bayes* in his *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*, in order to the publick Peace and ſecurity of the Government, could not have failed to admoniſh Princes to beware of this growing Evil, and to brandiſh the *Publick Rods* if not *the Axes* againſt the Boyes, to teach them better manners. And he would have aſſured them that they might have done it with all ſafety, notwithſtanding that there were in proportion an hundred Boyes againſt one *Preceptor*. But therefore is it not poſſible that *J. O.* and Mr. *Bayes* have known one another formerly in the Univerſity; and that (as in Seniority there is a kind of Magiſtracy) *Bayes* being yet young, *J. O.* conceiv'd himſelf in thoſe dayes to be his Superior, and exerciſed an Academical Juriſdiction or Dominion over him. Now whether *J. O.* might not be too ſevere upon him there (for all men are prone to be cogent and ſupercilious when they are in Office) or whether Mr. *Bayes* might not make ſome little eſcapes and excurſions there

(as

(as young men are apt to do when they are got together) that I know not, and rather believe the contrary. But that is certain that the young Wits in the Univerſities have alwayes an animoſity againſt the Doctors, and take a peculiar felicity in having a lucky hit at any of them. I rather ſuppoſe that after Mr. *Bayes* had changed the place, and his condition, to be the Noblemans Chaplain, that he might commit ſome exorbitance in *J. O*'s opinion, or preach or write ſomething to *J. O*'s reproach, and publiſhed the Secrets of the *Holy Brotherhood:* and that *J. O.* having got him within his reach, did therefore (figuratively ſpeaking)

—Inſtead of Dame Jillian
Take up his Malepillian,
And whipt him like a baggage—.

as *Tom Triplet* expreſſes it. This might well raiſe Mr. *Bayes* his Choler, who, conſidering himſelf to be now in Holy Orders, and conceiving that he had been as ſafe as in a Sanctuary under his Patrons protection, muſt needs take it ill to be handled ſo irreverently. If it were

were thus in Fact, and that *J.O.* might preſume too much upon his former Authority to give him Correction; yet it is the more excuſable, if Mr. *Bayes* had on his part been guilty of ſo much diſingenuity. For though a man may be allowed once in his life to change his Party, and the whole Scene of his Affairs, either for his Safety or Preferment; nay, though every man be obliged to change an hundred times backward and forward, if his Judgement be ſo weak & variable; yet there are ſome drudgeries that no man of Honour would put himſelf upon, and but few ſubmit to if they were impoſed. As ſuppoſe one had thought fit to paſs over from one Perſwaſion of the Chriſtian Religion unto another; he would not chuſe to ſpit thrice at every Article that he relinquiſhed, to curſe ſolemnly his Father and Mother for having educated him in thoſe Opinions, to animate his new Aquaintances to the maſſacring of his former Camarades. Theſe are buſineſſes that can only be expected from a Renegade of

Argier

Argier or *Tunis*; to over-doe in expiation, and gain better credence of being a ſincere *Muſulman*. And truly, though I can ſcarcely believe that Mr. *Bayes* hath ſo mean and deſperate intentions, which yet his words ſeem too often to manifeſt; the Offices however which he undertakes are almoſt as diſhonourable. For he hath ſo ſtudied and improved their *Jargon* as he calls it, heard their Sermons and Prayers ſo attentively, ſearched the Scriptures ſo narrowly, that a man may juſtly ſuſpect he had formerly ſet up of *J. O*'s Profeſſion, and having the language ſo perfectly, hath upon *this juncture of affairs* betaken himſelf to turn *Spy* and *Intelligencer*; and 'tis evident that he hath travell'd the Country for that purpoſe. So that I cannot reſemble him better than to that Politick Engine who about two years ago was employed by ſome of *Oxford* as a *Miſſionary* amongſt the Nonconformiſts of the adjacent Counties; and, upon deſign, either gathered a Congregation of his own, or preach'd amongſt others, till having got all their Names,

Names, he threw off the Vizard, and appear'd in his own Colours, an honeſt *Informer*. But I would not have any man take Mr. *Bayes* his *Fanatical-Geography* for authentick, leſt he ſhould be as far miſled, as in the ſituation of *Geneva*. It ſuffices that Mr. *Bayes* hath done therein as much as ſerved to his purpoſe, and mixed probability enough for ſuch as know not better, and whoſe ears are of a juſt bore for his fable.

But *I. O.* being of age and parts ſufficient either to manage or to neglect this Quarrel, I ſhall as far as poſſible decline the mentioning of him, ſeeing I have too upon (further intelligence and conſideration) found that he was not the perſon whom Mr. *Bayes* principally intended. For, the truth of it is, the King was the Perſon concerned from the beginning.

His Majeſty before his moſt happy and miraculous Reſtauration, had ſent over a Declaration of his Indulgence to tender Conſciences in Eccleſiaſtical matters. Which, as it was doubtleſs the real Reſult of the laſt Advice left

Him

Him by his glorious Father, and of his own conſummate Prudence and natural Benignity; ſo at his Return he religiouſly obſerved and promoted it as far as the Paſſions and Influences of the contrary Party would give leave. For, whereas among all the decent Circumſtances of his welcom Return, the Providence of God had ſo cooperated with the duty of his Subjects, that ſo glorious an Action ſhould neither be ſoiled with the blood of Victory, nor leſſened by any capitulations of Treaty, ſo not to be wanting on his part in courteſy, as I may ſay, to ſo happy a conjuncture, He impoſed upon himſelf an Oblivion of former offences, and this Indulgence in Eccleſiaſtical affairs. And to royal and generous minds no ſtipulations are ſo binding as their own voluntary promiſes: nor is it to be wondred if they hold thoſe Conditions that they put upon themſelves the moſt inviolable. He therefore carried the Act of Oblivion and Indempnity thorow: that Party who had ſuffered ſo vaſtly in the late Combuſtions not refuſing to imi-

tate

tate his Generoſity, but throwing all their particular Loſſes & Reſentments into the Publick Reckoning. But when it came to the Eccleſiaſtical Part, the accompliſhment of which onely remain'd behind to have perfected his Majeſty's felicity, the buſineſs I warrant you would not go ſo, (as I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more particularly.) For, though I am ſorry to ſpeak it, yet it is a ſad truth, that the Animoſities and Obſtinacy of ſome of the Clergy have in all Ages been the greateſt Obſtacle to the Clemency, Prudence and good Intentions of Princes, and the Eſtabliſhment of their Affairs. His Majeſty therefore expected a better ſeaſon, and having at laſt rid himſelf of a great Miniſter of State who had headed this Intereſt, he now proceeded plainly to recommend to his Parliament effectually and with repeated inſtances, the Conſideration of tender Conſciences. After the Kings laſt repreſenting of this matter to the Parliament, Mr. B*ayes* took ſo much time as was neceſſary for the maturing of ſo accurate

accurate a Book which was to be the ſtandard of Government for all future Ages, and he was happily delivered in 1670 of his Eccleſiaſtical Policy. And, though he thought fit in this firſt Book to treat his Majeſty more tenderly than in thoſe that followed, yet even in this he doth all along uſe great liberty and preſumption. Nor can what he objects, page 282, to weak Conſciences, take place ſo juſtly upon them as upon himſelf: who, while his Prince might expect his Compliance, doth give him Counſel, adviſes him how to governe the Kingdom, blames and corrects the Laws, and tells him how this and the other might be mended. But that I may not involve the thing in generals, but repreſent undeniably Mr. *Bayes* his performance in this undertaking, I ſhall without Art write down his own words and his own *quod Scripſi Scripſi*, as they ly naked to the view of every Reader.

The grand Theſis upon which he ſtakes not onely all his own Divinity and Policy, his Reputation, Preferment,

ment and Conſcience, of moſt of which he hath no reaſon to be prodigal; but even the Crowns and Fate of Princes, and the Liberties, Lives and Eſtates, and, which is more, the Conſciences of their Subjects, which are too valuable to be truſted in his diſpoſal, is this, pag. 10. *That it is abſolutely neceſſary to the peace and government of the World, that the ſupream Magiſtrate of every Commonwealth ſhould be veſted with a Power to govern and conduct the Conſciences of Subjects in affairs of Religion.* And pag. 12. he explains himſelf more fully: that *Unleſs Princes have Power to bind their Subjects to that Religion that they apprehend moſt advantagious to publick peace and tranquillity, and reſtrain thoſe religious miſtakes that tend to its ſubverſion, they are no better than Statues and Images of Authority.* Pag. 13. *A Prince is endued with a Power to conduct Religion, and that muſt be ſubject to his Dominion as well as all other Affairs of State.* P. 27. *If Princes ſhould forgoe their Soveraignty over mens Conſciences in matters of Religion, they leave themſelves leſs power than*

is abſolutely neceſſary, &c. And in brief: *The ſupream Government of every Commonwealth, where-ever it is lodged, muſt of neceſſity be univerſal, abſolute, and uncontroulable in all affairs whatſoever that concern the Intereſts of Mankind and the ends of Government.* P. 32. *He in whom the Supream Power reſides, having Authority to aſſign to every Subject his proper function, and among others theſe of the Prieſthood; the exerciſe thereof as he has power to transfer upon others, ſo he may if he pleaſe reſerve it to himſelf.* P. 33. *Our Saviour came not to unſettle the Foundations of Government, but left the Government of the World in the ſame condition he found it.* P. 34. *The Government of Religion was veſted in Princes by an antecedent right to Chriſt.* — This being the Magiſterial and main Point that he maintains, the reſt of his Aſſertions may be reckoned as Corollaries to this *Theſis*, and without which indeed ſuch an unlimited Maxime can never be juſtified. Therefore, to make a Conſcience fit for the nonſe, he ſayes, p. 89. *Men may think of things according to their own per-*

perſwaſions, and aſſert the freedom of their judgments againſt all the Powers of the Earth. This is the Prerogative of the Mind of Man within its own Dominions, its Kingdom is intellectual, &c. Whilſt Conſcience acts within its proper ſphere, the Civil Power is ſo far from doing it violence, that it never can. P. 92. *Mankind have the ſame natural right to Liberty of Conſcience in matters of Religious Worſhip as in Affairs of Juſtice and Honeſty; that is to ſay, a Liberty of Judgment, but not of Practice.* And in the ſame page he determines *Chriſtian Liberty* to be *founded upon the Reaſonableneſs of this Principle.* P. 308. *In caſes and diſputes of Publick concernment, Private men are not properly* ſui Juris, *They have no power over their own actions: they are not to be directed by their own judgments, or determined by their own wills, but by the commands and determinations of the publick Conſcience; and if there be any ſin in the Command, he that impoſed it ſhall anſwer for it, and not I whoſe whole duty it is to obey. The Commands of Authority will warrant my Obedience, my Obedience will*

hallow, or at leaſt excuſe my action, and ſo ſecure me from ſin, if not from error: and in all doubtful and diſputable caſes, 'tis better to err with Authority than to be in the right againſt it: not only becauſe the danger of a little error (and ſo it is if it be diſputable) is outweighed by the importance of the great duty of Obedience, &c.

Another of his Corollaries is, *That God hath appointed* (p. 80.) *the Magiſtrates to be his Truſtees upon Earth, and his Officials to act and determine in Moral Virtues and Pious Devotions according to all accidents and emergencies of affairs: to aſſign new particulars of the Divine Law; to declare new bounds of right and wrong, which the Law of God neither doth nor can limit.* P. 69. *Moral Virtue being the moſt material and uſeful part of all Religion, is alſo the utmoſt end of all its other duties.* P. 76. *All Religion muſt of neceſſity be reſolved into Enthuſiaſm or Morality. The former is meer Impoſture; and therefore all that is true muſt be reduced to the latter.* Having thus enabled the Prince, diſpenſed with Conſcience, and fitted up a Moral Religion for that Conſcience;

to

to ſhow how much thoſe Moral Virtues are to be valued, P. 53. of the Preface to his *Eccleſiaſtical Policy* he affirms, that *'tis abſolutely neceſſary to the peace and happineſs of Kingdoms, that there be ſet up a more ſevere Government over Mens Conſciences and Religious Perſwaſions, than over their Vices and Immoralities.* And, pag. 55. of the ſame, that *Princes may with leſs hazard give liberty to mens Vices and Debaucheries than their Conſciences.* But for what belongs particularly to the uſe of their Power in Religion; he firſt (p. 56. of his Book) ſaith, that *the Proteſtant Reformation hath not been able to reſettle Princes in their full and natural rights in reference to its concerns:* & 58. *moſt Proteſtant Princes have been frighted, not to ſay hector'd out of the exerciſe of their Eccleſiaſtical Jurisdiction.* P. 271. *If Princes will be reſolute (and if they wil govern ſo they muſt be) they may eaſily make the moſt ſtuborn Conſcience bend to their reſolutions.* P. 221. *Princes muſt be ſure to bind on at firſt their Eccleſiaſtical Laws with the ſtraiteſt knot, and afterward keep them in force by the ſeverity of their execution.* 223

ſpeaking of honeſt and well meaning men: *So eaſy is it for men to deſerve to be puniſhed for their Conſciences, that there is no Nation in the World, in which were Government rightly underſtood and duly managed, miſtakes and abuſes of Religion would not ſupply the Galleys with vaſtly greater numbers than Villany.* Pag. 54. of the Preface to Eccleſiaſt. Policy. *Of all Villains the well-meaning Zealot is the moſt dangerous.* P. 49. *The Fanatick-Party in Country Towns and Villages ariſeth not (to ſpeak within compaſs) above the proportion of one to twenty. Whilſt the publick peace and ſettlement is ſo unluckily defeated by quarrels and mutinies of Religion, to erect and create new Trading Combinations, is only to build ſo many Neſts of Faction and Sedition, &c. For it is notorious that there is not any ſort of people ſo inclinable to ſeditious practices as the Trading part of a Nation.* And now though many as material paſſages might be heap'd up out of his Book on all theſe and other as tender Subjects, I ſhall conclude this imperfect enumeration with one Corollary more, to which indeed

indeed his grand Theſis and all the ſuperſtructures are ſubordinate and accommodated. P. 166. *Princes cannot pluck a pin out of the Church, but the State immediately ſhakes and totters.* This is the *Syntagm* of Mr. *Bayes* his Divinity, and *Syſtem* of his Policy: The Principles of which confine upon the *Territories* of *Malmsbury*, and the ſtile, as far as his Wit would give him leave, imitates that Language: But the Arrogance and Dictature with which he impoſes it on the world, ſurpaſſes by far the preſumption either of *Gondibert* or *Leviathan*. For he had indeed a very Politick fetch or two that might have made a much wiſer man then he, more confident. For he imagined firſt of all, that he had perfectly ſecured himſelf from any mans anſwering him: not ſo much upon the true reaſon, that is, becauſe indeed ſo paltry a Book did not deſerve an Anſwer; as becauſe he had ſo confounded the Queſtion with differing terms and contradictory expreſſions, that he might upon occaſion affirm whatſoever he denyed, or deny

whatſoever he affirmed. And then beſides, becauſe he had ſo intangled the matter of Conſcience with the Majeſtrates Power, that he ſuppoſed no man could handle it thorowly without bringing himſelf within the Statute of treaſonable words, and at leaſt a *Premunire*. But laſt of all, becauſe he thought that whoſoever anſwered him muſt for certain be of a contrary Judgment, and he that was of a contrary Judgment ſhould be a Fanatick; and if one of them preſumed to be medling, then Mr. *Bayes* (as all Divines have a *Non-obſtante* to the *Jejunium Cecilianum*, and to the *Act of Oblivion* and *Indempnity*) would either burn that, or tear it in pieces. Being ſo well fortified on this ſide, upon the other he took himſelf to be impregnable. His Majeſty muſt needs take it kindly that he gave him ſo great an acceſſion of *Territory*: and, leſt he ſhould not be thought rightly to underſtand Government, nay leſt Mr. *Bayes* by virtue of P. 271. ſhould not think him fit to govern, he could not in prudence and ſafety but ſubmit to his

his Admonition and Inſtructions. But if he would not, Mr. Bayes knew, ay that he did, how to be even with him, and would write another Book that ſhould do his buſineſs. For, the ſame Power that had given the Prince that Authority, could alſo revoke it.

But let us ſee therefore what ſucceſs the whole Contrivance met with, or what it deſerved. For, after things have been laid with all the depth of humane Policy, there happens lightly ſome ugly little contrary accident from ſome quarter or other of Heaven, that fruſtrates and renders all ridiculous.

And here, for brevity and diſtinction ſake, I muſt make uſe of the ſame priviledge by which I call him Mr. B*ayes*, to denominate alſo his ſeveral Aphoriſms or Hypotheſes: and let him take care whether or no they be ſignificant.

Firſt, The *Unlimited Magiſtrate.*
Secondly, *The Publick Conſcience.*
Thirdly, *Moral Grace.*
Fourthly, *Debauchery Tolerated.*
Fifthly, *Perſecution recommended.*
And laſtly, *Puſhpin-Divinity.*

And

And now, though I intend not to be longer than the nature of *Animadverſions* requires, (this alſo being but collateral to my work of examining the Preface, and having been ſo abundantly performed already) yet neither can I proceed well without ſome Preface. For, as I am obliged to ask pardon if I ſpeak of ſerious things ridiculouſly ; ſo I muſt now beg excuſe if I ſhould hap to diſcourſe of ridiculous things ſeriouſly. But I ſhall, ſo far as poſſible, obſerve *decorum*, and, whatever I talk of, not commit ſuch an Abſurdity, as to be grave with a Buffoon. But the principal cauſe of my Apology is, becauſe I ſee I am drawn in to mention Kings and Princes, and even our own ; whom, as I think of with all duty and reverence, ſo I avoid ſpeaking of either in jeſt or earneſt, leſt by reaſon of my private condition & breeding, I ſhould, though moſt unwillingly , trip in a word, or fail in the mannerlineſs of an expreſſion. But Mr. *Bayes*, becauſe Princes ſometimes hear men of his quality play their Part, or preach a Ser-

mon,

mon, grows ſo inſolent that he thinks himſelf fit to be their Governour. So dangerous it is to let ſuch creatures be too familiar. They know not their diſtance, and like the Aſs in the Fable, becauſe they ſee the Spaniel play with their Maſters Leggs, they think themſelves priviledged to paw and ramp upon his Shoulders. Yet though I muſt follow his track now I am in, I hope I ſhall not write after his Copy.

As for his firſt Hypotheſis of the *Unlimited Magiſtrate*, I muſt for this once do him right, that after I had read in his 12th page, that *Princes have power to bind their Subjects to that Religion they apprehend moſt advantagious to publick Peace and Tranquillity*; a long time after, not as I remember till pag. 82. when he bethought himſelf better, he ſaith, *No Rites nor Ceremonies can be eſteemed unlawful in the Worſhip of God, unleſs they tend to debauch men either in their practices or their conceptions of the Deity.* But no man is in Ingenuity obliged to do him that ſervice for the future; neither yet doth that limitation

on bind up or interpret what he before ſo looſly affirmed. However, take all along the Power of the Magiſtrate as he hath ſtated it; I am confident if Biſhop *Bramhall* were alive (who could no more forbear *Grotius*, than Mr. *Bayes* could the Biſhop, notwithſtanding their friendſhip) he would beſtow the ſame Cenſure upon him that he doth upon *Grotius*, p. 18. *When I read his Book of the Right of the Sovereign Magiſtrate in Sacred things, he ſeem'd to me to come too near an Eraſtian, and to leſſen the power of the Keys too much, which Chriſt left as a Legacy to his Church. It may be he did write that before he was come to full maturity of judgment: and ſome other things, I do not ſay after he was ſuperannuated, but without that due deliberation which he uſeth at other times*; (wherein a man may deſire Mr. Bayes in Mr. *Bayes*) *Or it may be ſome things have been changed in his* Book, *as I have been told by one of his neareſt friends, and that we ſhall ſhortly ſee a more Authentick Edition of all his Works. This is certain, that ſome of thoſe things which I diſlike, were not his own*

judg-

judgment after he was come to maturity in Theological matters. And had Mr. *Bayes* (as he ought to have done) carryed his Book to any of the preſent Biſhops, or their Chaplains, for a Licence to print it, I cannot conceive that he could have obtained it in better terms than what I have collected out of the 108 page of his Anſwerer: *Notwithſtanding the old Pleas of the* Jus Divinum *of Epiſcopacy, of Example and Direction Apoſtolical, of a Parity of Reaſon between the condition of the Church whilſt under Extraordinary Officers, and whilſt under Ordinary, of the power of the Church to appoint Ceremonies for Decency and Order, of the patern of the Churches of old*; (all which under Proteſtation are reſerved till the firſt opportunity.) I have upon reading of this Book, found that it may be of uſe for the *preſent Juncture of Affairs*, and therefore let it be printed. And, as I think, he hath diſobliged the Clergy of *England* in this matter; ſo I believe the favour that he doth his Majeſty is not equivalent to that damage. For that I may, with Mr. *Bays* his leave,

pro-

prophane *Ben. Johnſon*, though the graveſt Divines ſhould be his Flatterers; he hath a very quick ſenſe, and (ſhall I prophane *Horace* too in the ſame period?)

Hunc male ſi palpere recalcitrat undiq; tutus.

If one ſtroke him ilfavouredly, he hath a terrible way of kicking, and will fling you to the Stable-door; but is himſelf ſafe on every ſide. He knows it's all but that you may get into the Saddle again; and that the Prieſt may ride him, though it be to a Precipiece. He therefore contents Himſelf with the Power that He hath inherited from his Royal Progenitors Kings and Queens of *England*, and as it is declared by Parliament: and is not to be trepann'd into another kind of Tenure of Dominion to be held at Mr. *Bayes* his pleaſure, and depend upon the ſtrength only of his Argument. But (that I may not offend in Latin too frequently) he conſiders that by not aſſuming a Deity to himſelf, he becomes ſecure and worthy of his Government. There are lightly about

about the Courts of Princes a ſort of Projectors for Concealed Lands, to which they entitle the King, to begg them for themſelves: and yet generally they get not much by it, but are exceeding vexatious to the Subject. And even ſuch an one is this Mr. *Bayes* with his Project of a *Concealed Power*, that moſt Princes, as he ſaith, *have not yet rightly underſtood*; but whereof the King is ſo little enamour'd, that I am confident, were it not for prolling and moleſting the People, his Majeſty would give Mr. *Bayes* the Patent for it, and let him make his beſt on't, after he hath paid the Fees to my Lord Keeper.

But one thing I muſt confeſs is very pleaſant, and he hath paſt an high Complement upon his Majeſty in it: that he may, if he pleaſe, reſerve the Prieſthood and the Exerciſe of it to himſelf. Now this indeed is ſurpriſing; but this onely troubles me, how his Majeſty would look in all the Sacerdotal habiliments, and the Pontifical Wardrobe. I am afraid the King would find himſelf incommoded with all that furniture upon

on his back, and would ſcarce reconcile himſelf to wear even the Lawn-ſleeves and the Surplice. But what? even *Charles the fifth*, as I have read, was at his Inauguration by the Pope, content to be veſted, according to the Romane Ceremonial, in the habit of a Deacon: and a man would not ſcruple too much the formality of the dreſs in order to Empire.

But one thing I doubt Mr. B*ayes* did not well conſider; that, if the King may diſcharge the Function of the Prieſthood, he may too (and 'tis all the reaſon in the world) aſſume the Revenue. It would be the beſt Subſidy that ever was voluntarily given by the Clergy. But truly otherwiſe, I do not ſee but that the King does lead a more unblamable Converſation, and takes more care of Souls than many of them, and underſtands their Office much better, and deſerves ſomething already for the pains he hath taken.

The next is *Publick Conſcience*. For as to mens private Conſciences he hath made them very inconſiderable, and,

reading

reading what he ſaith of them with ſome attention, I only found this new and important Diſcovery and great Priviledge of Chriſtian Liberty, that *Thought is free*. We are however obliged to him for that, ſeing by conſequence we may think of him what we pleaſe. And this he ſaith a man may aſſert againſt all the Powers of the Earth: And indeed with much reaſon and to great purpoſe; ſeeing, as he alſo alledges, the Civil Power is ſo far from doing violence to that liberty, that it never can. But yet if the freedom of thoughts be in not lying open to diſcovery, there have been wayes of compelling men to diſcover them; or, if the freedom conſiſt in retaining their judgments when ſo manifeſted, that alſo hath been made penal. And I doubt not but beſide *Oaths* and *Renunciations*, and *Aſſents* and *Conſents*, Mr. *Bayes*, if he were ſearched, hath twenty other teſts and picklocks in his pocket. Would Mr. *Bays* then perſwade men to aſſert this againſt all the Powers of the Earth? I would ask in what manner? To ſay the truth I do

not like him, and would wiſh the Nonconformiſts to be upon their gaurd, leſt he trepan them firſt by this means into a Plot, and then peach, & ſo hang them: If Mr. *Bayes* meant otherwiſe in this matter, I confeſs my ſtupidity, and the fault is moſt his own who ſhould have writ to the capacity of vulgar Readers. He cuts indeed and faulters in this diſcourſe, which is no good ſign, perſwading men that they may, and ought to practiſe againſt their Conſciences, where the Commands of the Magiſtrate intervenes. None of them denies that it is their duty, where their Judgements or Conſciences cannot comply with what is injoyned, that they ought in obedience patiently to ſuffer; but further they have not learned. I dare ſay that the Caſual Divinity of the Jeſuites is all thorow as Orthodox as this Maxime of our Authors: and, as the Opinion is brutiſh, ſo the Conſequences are deviliſh. To make it therefore go down more glibly, he ſaith, that *'tis better to err with Authority, than to be in the right againſt it.*

in

in all doubtful and disputable cases: because the great duty of Obedience outweighs the danger of a little error, (and little it is if it be disputable.) I cannot understand the truth of this reasoning; that whatsoever is disputable is little; for even the most important matters are subject to controversie: And besides, things are little or great according to the Eyes or Understandings of several men; and however, a man would suffer something rather than commit that little error against his Conscience, which must render him an Hypocrite to God, and a Knave amongst Men. *The Commands* (he saith) *and Determinations of the publick Conscience ought to carry it; and if there be any sin in the Command, he that imposed shall answer for it, and not I whose duty it is to obey;* (And mark) *the Commands of Authority will warrant my Obedience, my Obedience will hallow, or at least excuse my action, and so secure me from sin if not from error;* and so you are welcome Gentlemen. Truly a very fair and conscionable Reckoning! So far is this from hallowing the Action,

that I dare ſay it wil, if followed home, lead only to all that *ſanctified Villany*, for the invention of which we are beholden to the Author. But let him have the honour of it: for he is the firſt Divine that ever taught Chriſtians how another man's ſin could confer an *Imputative Righteouſneſs* upon all Mankind that ſhall follow and comply with it. Though the Subject made me ſerious, yet I could not reade the expreſſion without laughter: *My Obedience will hallow, or at leaſt excuſe my Action.* So inconſiderable a difference he ſeems to make betwixt thoſe terms, That if ever our Author come for his merits to be a Biſhop, a man might almoſt adventure inſtead of *Conſecrated* to ſay that he was *Excuſed.*

The third is *Moral Grace.* And whoever is not ſatisfied with thoſe paſſages of his concerning it, before quoted, may find enough where he diſcourſeth it at large, even to ſurfeit. I cannot make either leſs or more of it than that he overturns the whole fabrick of Chriſtianity, and Power of Religion.

For

For my part, if Grace be reſolv'd into Morality, I think a man may almoſt as well make God too to be only a Notional and Moral Exiſtence.

And white-apron'd *Amaryllis* was of that opinion:

Ma tu Sanctiſſima Honeſtà che ſola ſei
D' alma ben nata inviolabil Nume.

But thou moſt holy Honeſty, that only art the inviolable Deity of the well-born Soul.

And ſo too was the Moral Poet: (for why may not I too bring out my Latin ſhreds as well as he his,

Quæſitum ad fontem ſolos deducere verpos)

Nullum Numen abeſt ſi ſit Prudentia---

There is no need of a Deity where there is Prudence; or, if you will, where there is *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*.

But ſo far I muſt do Mr. *Bayes* right, that, to my beſt obſervation, if Prudence had been God, *Bayes* had been a

moſt damnable Atheiſt. Or, perhaps only an Idolater of their number, concerning whom he adds in the next line

— ſed te
Nos facimus Fortuna Deam Cœloque locamus.

But we make thee Fortune a Goddeſs, and place thee in Heaven.

However I cannot but be ſorry that he hath undertaken this deſperate vocation, when there are twenty other honeſt and painful wayes wherein he might have got a *Living*, and made Fortune propitious. But he cares not upon what Argument or how dangerous he runns to ſhew his ambitious Activity: whereas thoſe that wil dance upon Ropes, do lightly ſome time or other break their necks. And I have heard that even the *Turk*, every day he was to mount the High-Rope, took leave of his *Comfortable Importance* as if he ſhould never ſee her more. But this is a matter forreign to my Judicature, and therefore I leave him to be tryed by any Jury of Divines: and, that he may have all right done him, let half of them

them be *School-Divines* and the other moity *Syſtematical*, and let him except againſt as many as the Law allows, and ſo God ſend him a good deliverance. But I am afraid he will never come off.

The fourth is *Debauchery tolerated.* For ſuppoſing, as he does, that 'tis better and *ſafer to give a Toleration to mens Debaucheries than to their Religious Perſwaſions*, it amounts to the ſame reckoning. This is a very ill way of diſcourſing; and that a *greater ſeverity ought to be exerciſed over mens Conſciences than over their Vices and Immoralities.* For it argues too much indiſcretion, by avoiding one evil to run up into the contrary extream. And Debauch'd Perſons will be ready hence to conclude, although it be a perverſe way of reaſoning, That where the Severity ought to be leſs, the Crime is leſs alſo: nay, even that the more they are debauch'd, it is juſt that the Puniſhment ſhould ſtill abate in proportion; but however, that it were very imprudent and unadviſable to reform and erre on

the Religious hand, leſt they ſhould thereby incur the greater penalties. Mr. *Bayes* would have done much better had he ſingled out the Theme of Religion. He might have loaded it with all the truth which that ſubject would bear; I would allow him that *Rebellion is as the ſin of Witch-craft*, though that text of Scripture will ſcarce admit his interpretation. He could not have declamed more ſharply than I, or any honeſt man elſe, would upon occaſion againſt all thoſe who under pretence of Conſcience raiſe War, or create publick Diſturbances. But Compariſons of Vice are dangerous, and though he ſhould do this without deſign, yet, while he aggravates upon Religion, and puts it in ballance, he doth ſo far alleviate and encourage Debauchery. And moreover (which to be ſure is againſt his deſign) he doth hereby more confirm the auſterer ſort of Sinners, and furniſhes them with a more ſpecious Colour and ſtronger Argument. It had been better Policy to inſtruct the Magiſtrate that there is no readier

readier way to ſhame theſe out of their Religious Niceties than by improving Mens Morals. But, as he handles it, never was there any Point more unſeaſonably expoſed; at ſuch a time, when there is ſo general a depravation of Manners, that even thoſe who contribute towards it do yet complain of it; and though they cannot reform their practice, yet feel the effects, and tremble under the apprehenſion of the Conſequences. It were eaſie here to ſhew a man's reading, and to diſcourſe out of Hiſtory the cauſes of the decay and ruine of Mr. *Bayes* his *Roman Empire*, when-as the Moraliſt has it,

—ſævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, Victumque ulciſcitur
Orbem.

And deſcending to thoſe Times ſince Chriſtianity was in the Throne, 'tis demonſtrable that for one War upon a Fanatical or Religious account, there have been an hundred occaſioned by the thirſt of Glory and Empire that hath inflamed ſome great Prince to invade his Neighbours. And more have

ſprung

ſprung from the Contentiouſneſs and Ambition of ſome of the Clergy; But the moſt of all from the Corruption of Manners, and alwayes fatal Debauchery. It exhauſts the Eſtates of private perſons, and makes them fit for nothing but the High-way or an Army. It debaſes the ſpirits and weakens the vigor of any Nation; at once indiſpoſing them for War, and rendring them uncapable of Peace. For, if they eſcape inteſtine troubles, which would certainly follow when they had left themſelves by their prodigality or intemperance, no other means of ſubſiſtence but by preying upon one another; then muſt they either, to get a maintenance, pick a quarrel with ſome other Nation, wherein they are ſure to be worſted; or elſe (which more frequently happens) ſome neighbouring Prince that underſtands Government takes them at the advantage, and, if they do not like ripe Fruit fall into his lap, 'tis but ſhaking the Tree once or twice, and he is ſure of them. Where the Horſes are, like thoſe of the *Sybarites*, taught to dance,

dance, the Enemy need only learn the Tune and bring the Fiddles. But therefore (as far as I underſtand) his Majeſty to obviate and prevent theſe inconveniencies in his Kingdoms, hath on the one hand never refuſed a juſt Warre; that ſo he might take down our Greaſe and Luxury, and keep the *Engliſh* Courage in breath and exerciſe: and on the other, (though himſelf moſt conſtantly addicted to the Church of *England*) hath thought fit to grant ſome liberty to all other Sober People, (and longer than they are ſo God forbid they ſhould have it) thereby to give more temper and allay to the common and notorious Debauchery.

But Mr. *Bayes* nevertheleſs is for his fifth; *Perſecutian recommended:* and he does it to the purpoſe. *Julian* himſelf, who I think was firſt a Reader, and held forth in the Chriſtian Churches before he turned Apoſtate and then Perſecutor, could not have outdone him either in Irony or Cruelty. Only it is God's mercy that Mr. *Bayes* is not Emperour. You have ſeen how he inveighs

veighs againſt Trade: *That whilſt mens Conſciences are acted by ſuch peeviſh and ungovernable Principles, to erect Trading-Combinations is but to build ſo many Neſts of Faction and Sedition.* Lay up your Ships, my Maſters, ſet Bills on your Shop-doors, ſhut up the Cuſtom-houſe; and why not adjourn the Term, mure up *Weſtminſter*-hall, leave Plowing and Sowing, and keep a diſmal Holy-day through the Nation; for Mr. *Bayes* is out of humour. But I aſſure you it is no jeſting matter. For he hath in one place taken a Liſt of the Fanatick Miniſters, whom he reckons to be but about an hundred *Syſtematical Divines:* though I believe the *Bartlemew*-Regiſter or the *March*-Licences would make them about an hundred and three or an hundred and four, or ſo: But this is but for rounder number and breaks no ſquare. And then for their People, either *they live in greater Societies of men* (he means the City of *London* and the other Cities and Towns-Corporate, but expreſſes it ſo to prevent ſome inconvenience that might betide them)

but

but there their noiſe is greater than their number. Or elſe in *Country-Towns and Villages, where they ariſe not above the proportion of one to twenty.* It were not unwiſely done indeed if he could perſwade the Magiſtrate that all the Fanaticks have but one neck, ſo that he might cut off Nonconformity at one blow. I ſuppoſe the Nonconformiſts value themſelves tho upon their Conſcience and not their Numbers: but they would do well to be watchful, leſt he have taken a Liſt of their Names as well as their Number, and have ſet Croſſes upon all their Doors againſt there ſhould be occaſion. But till that *happy juncture*, when Mr. *Bayes ſhall be fully avenged of his new Enemies the wealthy Fanaticks* (which is ſoon done too, for he ſaith *there are but few of them men of Eſtates or Intereſt*) he is contented that they ſhould only be expoſed (they are his own expreſſions) to the *Pillories, Whipping-poſts, Galleys, Rods*, and *Axes*; and moreover and above, to all other Puniſhments whatſoever, provided they be of a ſeverer nature than

thoſe

thoſe that are inflicted on men for their immoralities. O more then humane Clemency! I ſuppoſe the Diviſion betwixt Immoralities and Conſcience is univerſal, and whatſoever is wicked or penal is comprehended within their *Territories*. So that although a man ſhould be guilty of all thoſe heinous enormities which are not to be named among Chriſtians, beſide all leſſer Peccadillo's expreſly againſt the ten Commandments, or ſuch other part of the Divine Law as ſhall be of the Magiſtrates making, he ſhall be in a better condition and more gently handled, then a *well-meaning Zelot*; For this is the man that Mr. *Bayes* ſaith *is of all Villains the moſt dangerous*: (even more dangerous it ſeems then a malicious and ill-meaning Zelot) this is he whom in *all Kingdoms where Government is rightly underſtood*, he would have condemned *to the Galleys for his miſtakes and abuſes of Religion*. Although the other puniſhments are more ſevere, yet this being more new and unacquainted, I cannot paſs it by without ſome reflexi-

on.

on. For I conſidered what Princes make uſe of Gallyes. The firſt that occurred to me was the *Turk*, who according to *Bayes* his maxim, hath eſtabliſhed Mahometiſm among his ſubjects, as the *Religion that he apprehends moſt advantagious to publick peace and ſettlement*. Now in his Empire the Chriſtians only are guilty of thoſe *Religious Miſtakes that tend to the ſubverſion of Mahometiſm*: So that he underſtands Government rightly in chaining the Chriſtians to the Oar. But then in Chriſtendom, all that I could think of were the King of *France*, the King of *Spain*, the Knights of *Malta*, the *Pope*, and the reſt of the *Italian* Princes. And theſe all have bound their Subjects to the Romiſh Religion as moſt advantagious. But theſe people their Galleys, with Immoral Fellows and Debauchees: whereas the *Proteſtants*, being their Fanaticks and miſtakers in Religion, ſhould have been their *Ciurma*. But 'tis to be hoped theſe Princes will take advice and underſtand it better for the future. And then at laſt I re-

remembered that his Majeſty too hath one Gally latly built, but I dare ſay it is not with that intention: and our Fanaticks, though few, are ſo many, that one will not ſerve. But therefore if Mr. *Bayes* and his partners would be at the charge to build the King a whole Squadron for this uſe, I know not but it might do very well (for we delight in Novelties) and it would be a ſingular obligation to *Sir John Baptiſt Dutel*, who might have ſome pretence to be General of his Majeſties Gallies. But ſo much for that. Yet in the mean time I cannot but admire at Mr. *Bayes* his courage; who knowing how dangerous a Villain a well-meaning Zelot is, and having calculated to a man how many of them there are in the whole Nation, yet dares thus openly ſtimulate the Magiſtrate againſt them, and talk of nothing leſs, but much more, than *Pillories*, *Whipping-Poſts*, *Galleys*, and *Axes* in this manner. It is ſure ſome ſign (and if he knew not ſo much he would ſcarce adventure) of the peaceableneſs of their Principles, and

of

of that reſtraint under which their tender Conſciences hold them, when nevertheleſs he may walk night and day in ſafety; though it were ſo eaſie a thing to deifie the Divine after the antient manner, and no man be the wiſer. But that which I confeſs would vex me moſt, were I either an ill or a well-meaning Zealot, would be, after all to hear him (as he frequently does) ſneering at me in an ironical harangue, to perſwade me, forſooth, to take all patiently for Conſcience-ſake, and the good example of Mankind: Nay, to wheedle one almoſt to make himſelf away to ſave the Hangman a labour. It was indeed near that paſs in the Primitive times, and the tyred Magiſtrates ask'd them, whether they had not Halters and Rivers and Precipices, if they were ſo greedy of Suffering? But, by the good leave of your Inſolence, we are not come to that yet. *Non tibi ſed Petro:* or rather, *ſed Regi.* The Nonconformiſts have ſuffered as well as any men in the World, and could do ſo ſtill if it were his Majeſty's plea-

ſure. Their *Duty to God hath hallowed*, and their *Duty to the Magiſtrate hath excuſed* both their Pain and Ignominy. To dye by a Noble hand is ſome ſatisfaction: But when his Majeſty, for Reaſons beſt known to Himſelf, hath been graciouſly pleaſed to abate of your Rigors, I hope Mr. *Bayes* that we ſhall not ſee when you have a mind to junket with your *Comfortable Importance* that the *Entremeſes* ſhall be of a Fanaticks Giblets: nor that a Nonconformiſts head muſt be wip'd off as oft as your noſe drivles. 'Tis ſufficient, Sir, we know your Inclination, we know your Abilities, and we know your Lodging: And when there is any further occaſion you will doubtleſs be ſent for. For, to ſay the truth, this *Bayes* is an excellent Tool, and more uſeful than ten other men. I will undertake that he ſhall rather than fail, be the Trepanner, the Informer, the Witneſs, the Atturney, the Judge; and, if the Nonconformiſt need the benefit of his Book, he ſhall be Ordinary too, and ſay he is an ignorant fellow, *non legit*; and then,

to

to do him the laſt Chriſtian office, he would be his Hangman. In the mean time, let him enjoy it in ſpeculation, ſecure of all the Imployments when they ſhall fall. For I know no Gentleman that will take any of them out of his hands, although it be an age wherein men cannot well ſupport their quality, without ſome acceſſion from the publick: and for the ordinary ſort of People, they are I know not by what diſaſter beſotted and abandon'd to Fanaticiſm. So that Mr. *Bayes* muſt either do it himſelf in perſon, or conſtitute the cheif Magiſtrate to be his Deputy: But Princes do indeed underſtand themſelves better moſt of 'm, and do neither think it ſo ſafe to intruſt a Clergy-man with their Authority, nor decent for themſelves to do the drudgery of the Clergy. That would have paſt in the Dayes of Saint *Dominick*: but when even the Inquiſition hath loſt its edge in the Popiſh Countryes, there is little appearance it ſhould be ſet up in *England*. It were a worthy Spectacle, were in not? to ſee his Majeſty

like the Governor in *Syneſius*, buſied in his Cabinet among thoſe Engines whoſe very names are ſo hard that it is ſome torture to name them; the *Podoſtrabee*, the *Dactylethree*, the *Otagree*, the *Rhinolabides*, the *Cheiloſtrophia*, deviſing, as they ſay there are particular Diſeaſes, ſo a peculiar Rack for every Limb and Member of a Chriſtians Body. Or, would he (with all Reverence be it ſpoken) exchange his Kingdom of *England* for that of *Macaſſar*? where the great *Arcanum* of Government is the cultivating of a Garden of Poyſonous Plants, and preparing thence a Poyſon, in which the Prince dips a Dart that where it does but draw blood, rots the perſon immediately to pieces; and his Office is with that to be the Executioner of his Subjects. God be prais'd his Majeſty is far of another temper: and he is wiſe, though ſome men be malicious.

But Mr. *Bayes* his ſixt, is that which I call his *Puſh-pin Divinity*. For he would perſwade Princes that *there cannot a Pin be pull'd out of the Church but the*

the State immediatly totters. That is ſtrange. And yet I have ſeen many a Pin pull'd out upon occaſion, and yet not ſo much as the Church it ſelf hath wagg'd. It is true indeed, and we have had ſad experiments of it, that ſome Clergy-men have been ſo opiniaſtre that they have rather expoſed the State to ruine than they would part with a Pin, I will not ſay out of their Church, but out of their Sleeve. There is nothing more natural then for the Ivy to be of opinion that the Oak cannot ſtand without its ſupport: or, ſeeing we are got into Ivy, that the Church cannot hold up longer than It underprops the Walls: whereas it is a ſneaking inſinuating Imp, ſcarce better than Bindweed, that ſucks the Tree dry, and moulders the building where it catches. But what, pray Mr. *Bayes*, is this Pinne in *Pallas's* buckler? Why 'tis ſome Ceremony or other, that is *indifferent in its own nature,* that *hath no antecedent neceſſity* but *only as commanded,* that *ſignifies nothing in it ſelf but what the Commander pleaſes,* that even by the Church

which commands it, is *declared to have nothing of Religion in it, and that is in it ſelf of no great moment or conſequence, only it is abſolutely neceſſary that Governours ſhould enjoyn it to avoid the evils that would follow if it were not determined.* Very well, Mr. *Bayes*. This I ſee will keep cold: anon perhaps I may have a ſtomach. But I muſt take care leſt I ſwallow your Pin.

Here we have had the Titles, and ſome ſhort Rehearſal of Mr. *Bayes* his ſix Playes. Not but that, ſhould we diſvaliſe him, he hath to my knowledg a hundred more as good in his budget: but really I conſult mine own repoſe. But now among friends, was there ever any thing ſo monſtrous? You ſee what a man may come to with Divinity and High-feeding. There is a ſcurvy diſeaſe, which though ſome derive from *America*, others tell a ſtory that the *Genoueſes* in their Warrs with *Venice* took ſome of their Noblemen, whom they cut to pieces and barrel'd up like Tunny, and ſo malicioufly vented it to the *Venetians*, who eating it ignorantly,

ly, broke out in thoſe naſty botches and ugly ſymptoms, that are not curable but by Mercury. What I relate it for is out of no further intention, nor is there any more ſimilitude than that the Mind too hath its Nodes ſometimes, and the Stile its Buboes, and that I doubt before Mr. *Bayes* can be rid of 'm, he muſt paſs through the Grand Cure and a dry Diet.

And now it is high time that I reſume the thread of my former Hiſtory concerning Mr. *Bayes* his Books in relation to his Majeſty. I do not find that the *Eccleſiaſtical Policy* found more acceptance than could be expected from ſo judicious a Prince: nor do I perceive that he was ever conſidered of at a Promotion of Biſhops, nor that he hath the reverſion of the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury*. But if he have not by Marriage barr'd his way; and it ſhould ever fall to his lot, I am reſolved inſtead of *his Grace* to call him alwayes *his Morality*. But as he got no Preferment that I know of at Court (though his Patron doubtleſs having many

things in his gift, did abundantly recompence him) ſo he miſt no leſs of his aim as to the Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical-Government upon his Principles. But ſtill, what he complains of pag. 20. *the Eccleſiaſtical Laws were either weakened through want of Execution, or in a manner cancell'd by the oppoſition of Civil Conſtitutions.* For, beſide what in *England*, where all things went on at the ſame rate, in the neighbouring Kingdom of *Scotland* there were I know not how many *Mas Johns* reſtored in one day to the work of their Miniſtry, and a door opened whereby allthe reſt might come in for the future, and all this by his Majeſty's Commiſſion. Nay, I think there was (a thing of very ill example) an Arch-Biſhop turn'd out of his Sea for ſome Miſdemeanor or other. I have not been curious after his name nor his crime, becauſe as much as poſſible I would not expoſe the nakedneſs of any perſon ſo eminent formerly in the Church. But henceforward the King fell into diſgrace with Mr. *Bayes*, and any one that had eyes might diſcern

that

that our Author did not afford his Majeſty that Countenance and Favour which he had formerly enjoy'd. So that a Book too of *J. O*'s happening miſchievouſly to come out at the ſame ſeaſon, Upon pretence of anſwering that, he reſolved to make his Majeſty feel the effects of his diſpleaſure. So that he ſet pen to paper again, and having kept his Midwife of the *Friendly Debate* by him all the time of his pregnancy for fear of miſcarrying, he was at laſt happily delivered of his ſecond Child, the *Defence of t'e Eccleſiaſtical Policy*, in the year 1671. It was a very luſty Baby, and twice as big as the former, and (which ſome obſerved as an ill ſign, and that if it lived it would prove a great Tyrant) it had, when born, all the Teeth, as perfect as ever you ſaw in any mans Head. But I do not reckon much upon thoſe ominous criticiſmes. For there was partly a natural cauſe in it, Mr. *Bayes* having gone ſo many months, more than the Civil Law allowes for the utmoſt term of legitimation, that it was no wonder

der if the Brat were at its birth more forward than others uſually are. And indeed Mr. *Bayes* was ſo provident againſt abortion, & careful for ſome reaſons that the Child ſhould cry, that the only queſtion in Town (though without much cauſe, for truly 'twas very like him) was, whether it was not ſpurious or ſuppoſitious. But Allegories and Raillery and Hard Words appear in this his ſecond Book, and what I quoted before out of Biſhop *Brambal*, p. 18. with alluſion to our Author, is here falln out as exactly true as if it had been expreſly calculated for *Bayes* his Meridian. He finds himſelf to have come too near, nay to have far outgone an *Eraſtian*, That he had writ his Eccleſiaſtical Policy before he was come to maturity of Judgement, that one might deſire Mr. *Bays* in Mr. *Bays*, that ſomething had been changed in his Book. That a more authentick Edition was neceſſay, that ſome things which he had ſaid before, were not his Judgment after he was come to maturity in Theological matters.

I will not herein too much inſiſt upon his Reply, where his Anſwerer asks him pertinently enough to his grand Theſis, what was then become of their old plea of *Jus Divinum?* Why, ſaith he, muſt you preſcribe me what I ſhall write? Perhaps my next Book ſhall be of that Subject. For, perhaps he ſaid ſo only for evaſion, being old excellent at parrying and fencing. Though I have good reaſon to believe that we may ſhortly ſee ſome Piece of his upon that Theme, and in defence of an Aphoriſm of a great Prelate in the laſt King's time, *That the King had no more to do in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, than Jack that rubb'd his Horſes heels.* For Mr. *Bayes* is ſo enterpriſing you know, *Look too't, Ile doo't.* He has face enough to ſay or unſay any thing, and 'tis his priviledge, what the School-Divines deny to be even within the power of the Almighty, to make Contradictions true. An evidence of which (though I reſerve the further inſtances to another occaſion that draws near) does plainly appear in what I now principally urge, to

ſhow

ſhow how dangerous a thing it is for his Majeſty and all other Princes to loſe Mr. *Bayes* his favour. For whereas he had all along in his firſt Book treated them like a company of Ignorants, and that did not underſtand Government, (but that is pardonable in Mr. *Bayes*) in this his ſecond, now that they will not do as he would have them, when he had given them Power and Inſtructions how to be wiſer for the future, He caſts them quite off like men that were deſperate. He had, you know, p. 35. of his firſt Book and in other places, veſted them with an univerſal and unlimited Power, and uncontroulable in the Government of Religion (that is, over mens Conſciences) but now in his ſecond, to make them an example to all incorrigible and ungrateful perſons, he ſtrips and diſrobes them again of all thoſe Regal Ornaments that he had ſuperinduced upon them, and leaves them good Princes in *querpo* as he found 'm, to ſhift for themſelves in the wide World as well as they can. Do but read his own words, p. 237 of his *Defence*

fence, parag. 5. and ſure you will be of my mind. *To veſt the Supreme Magiſtrate in an unlimited and uncontroulable Power, is clearly to defeat the Efficacy and Obligatory force of all his Laws, that cannot poſſibly have any binding virtue upon the minds of men, when they have no other inducement to obedience but only to avoid the penalty. But if the Supreme Power be abſolute and unlimited, it doth for that very reaſon remove and evacuate all other Obligations, for otherwiſe it is reſtrained and conditional; and if men lye under no other impulſion than of the Law it ſelf, they lye under no other obligation than that of prudence and ſelf-intereſt, and it remains intirely in the choice of their own diſcretion whether they ſhall or ſhall not obey, and then there is neither Government nor Obligation to Obedience; and the Principle of mens Complyance with the mind of their Superiours, is not the declaration of their will and pleaſure, but purely the determination of their own judgments; and therefore 'tis neceſſary for the ſecurity of Government, though for nothing elſe, to ſet bounds to its juriſdiction; Otherwiſe, like*

the

the Roman Empire, &c. I know it would be difficult to quote twenty lines in Mr. *Bayes* but we ſhould encounter with the *Romane Empire.* But obſerve how laboriouſly here he hath aſſerted and proved that all he had ſaid in his firſt Book was a meer miſtake before he were come to years of diſcretion. For as in Law a Man is not accounted ſo till he hath compleated 21, and 'tis but the laſt minute of that time that makes him his own Man, (as to all things but Conſcience I mean, for as to that many are never *ſui Juris*) ſo though the diſtance of *Bayes* his Books was but betwixt 1670 and 1671, yet a year, nay an inſtant at any time of a man's life may make him wiſer, and he hath, like all other fruits, his annual maturity. It was ſo long ſince as 1670 p. 33. that this *Univerſal Unlimited and Uncontroulable Power was the natural right of Princes antecedent to Chriſt, firmly eſtabliſhed by the unalterable Dictates of Natural Reaſon, Univerſal Practice, and Conſent of Nations, that the Scripture rather ſuppoſes than aſſerts the Eccleſiaſti-*

cal

cal (and ſo the Civil) *Juriſdiction of Princes.* 'Twas in 1670, p.10. That it was *abſolutely neceſſary;* and p. 12. *that Princes have that power to bind their Subjects to that Religion that they apprehend moſt advantagious to Publick Peace,* &c. So that they derive their title from Eternal Neceſſity, which the Moraliſts ſay the Gods themſelves can not impeach. His Majeſty may lay by his *Dieu* and make uſe onely of his *Mon Droit:* He hath a Patent for his Kingdom under the Broad-Seal of Nature, and next under that, and immediately *before* Chriſt, is over all Perſons and in all Cauſes aſwel Eccleſiaſtical as Civil (and over all mens Conſciences) within his Majeſty's Realms and Dominions Supream Head and Governour. 'Tis true, the Author ſometimes for faſhion-ſake ſpeaks in that Book of Religion and of a Deity, but his Principles do neceſſarily, if not in terms, make the Princes Power *Paramount* to both thoſe, and if he may by his uncontroulable and unlimited univerſal Authority introduce what Religion, he may of conſequence

ſequence what Deity alſo he pleaſes. Or, if there were no Deity, yet there muſt be ſome Religion, that being an Engine moſt advantagious for Publick Peace and Tranquillity. This was in 1670. But by 1671 you ſee the caſe is altered. Even one night hath made ſome men gray. And now p. 238 of his ſecond Book, he hath made Princes accountable, ay and to ſo ſevere an Auditor as God himſelf. *The Thrones of Princes are eſtabliſhed upon the Dominion of God.* And p. 241. *'Tis no part of the Princes concernment to inſtitute rules of Moral Good and Evil, that is the care and the Prerogative of a Superiour Lawgiver.* And p. 280. he owns that if the Subjects can plead a clear and undoubted preingagement to that higher Authority, they have a liberty to *remonſtrate* to the equity of their Laws. I do not like this Remonſtrating nor theſe Remonſtrants. I wiſh again that Mr. *Bayes* would tell us what he means by the term, and where it will end, whether he would have the Fanaticks remonſtrate: but they are wary, and aſham'd

ſhamed of what they have done in former times of that nature: or whether he himſelf hath a mind to remonſtrate, becauſe the Fanaticks are tolerated. That is the thing, that is the buſineſs of this whole Book: and knowing that there is a clear and undoubted preingagement to the higher Authority of Nature and Neceſſity, if the King will perſiſt in tolerating theſe people, who knows after remonſtrating, what Mr. *Bayes* will do next? But now in ſumme what ſhall we ſay of this man, and how had the King been ſerved if he had followed *Bayes's* advice, and aſſumed the power of his firſt Book? He had run himſelf into a fine *Premunire*, when now after all he comes to be made accountable to God, nay even to his Subjects. And by this means it happens, though it were beyond Mr. *Bayes* his forcaſt, and I dare ſay he would rather have given the Prince again a power antecedent to Chriſt, and to bring in what Religion he pleaſe; he hath obliged him to as tender a Conſcience as any of his Chriſtian ſubjects, and then good-

night to *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*. I have herein indeavoured the utmoſt ingenuity toward Mr. *Bayes*, for he hath laid himſelf open but to too many diſadvantages already, ſo that I need not, I would not preſs him beyond meaſure, but to my beſt underſtanding, and if I faile I even ask him pardon, I do him right. 'Tis true, that being diſtracted betwixt his deſire that the Conſciences of men ſhould be perſecuted, and his anger at Princes that will not be adviſed, he confounds himſelf every where in his reaſonings, that you can hardly diſtinguiſh which is the *Whoop* and which is the *Holla*, and he makes Indentures on each ſide of the way whereſoever he goes. But no man that is ſober will follow him, leſt ſome Juſtice of Peace ſhould make him pay his five ſhillings, beſide the ſcandal; and it is apparent to every one what he drives at. But were this otherwiſe, I can ſpare it, and 'tis ſufficient to my purpoſe that I do thus hiſtorically deduce the reaſon of his ſetting forth his Books, and ſhew that it was plainly to *remonſtrate* againſt

againſt the power of his Prince, and the meaſures that he hath taken of governing; to ſet his Majeſty at variance not only with his Subjects, but with himſelf, and to raiſe a Civil-War in his *Intellectual Kingdom*, betwixt his controulable & his uncontroulable Juriſdiction. And becauſe, having to do with a wiſe man, as Mr. *Bayes* is, one may often gather more of his mind out of a word that drops caſually, than out of his whole watchful and ſerious diſcourſe, when he is talking of matters of Policy and that require caution; I cannot ſlight one paſſage of Mr. *Bayes*, page *656*. Where raging bitterly againſt all the Presbyterians and other Sects, and as much againſt the allowing them any Tenderneſs, Liberty, Toleration or Indulgence, he concludes thus, *Tenderneſs and Indulgence to ſuch men, were to nouriſh Vipers in our own Bowels, and the moſt ſottiſh neglect of our own quiet and ſecurity, and we ſhould deſerve to periſh with the diſhonour of Sardanapalus.* Now this of *Sardanapalus* I remember ſome little thing ever ſince

I read, I think it was my *Juſtine*; and I would not willingly be ſuch a Fool as to make a dangerous Similitude that has no foundation. For if Mr. *Bayes* in the Preface of his *Defence*, to excuſe his long teeming before it were brought forth, places it partly upon his recreations: I know not why much more a Prince ſhould not *be willing to enjoy the innocent comforts of this life, as well as to do the common drugeries.* But I am thinking what Mr. *Bayes* meant by it; for every Similitude muſt have, though not all, yet ſome likeneſs: Now I am ſure there were no Nonconformiſts and Presbyterians in *Sardanapalus* his dayes, I am ſure alſo that *Sardanapalus* was no Clergyman, that he was no ſubject; but he was one of the *Uncontroulable* Creatures, that inſtead of exerciſing his Eccleſiaſtical Power delighted in ſpinning; till ſome body come in on the ſudden, and catching him at it, cut his thred. Come 'tis better we left this Argument and the Company too, for you ſee the Crime, you ſee the Sentence: and who ever

it

it be, there is ſome Prince or other whom Mr. *Bayes* will have to periſh. That p. 641. is indeed not ſo ſevere, but 'tis pretty well; where, on the ſame kind of Subject, whetting the Prince againſt thoſe People, he ſaith, *That Prince that hath felt the pounces of theſe ravening Vultures, if after that he ſhall be perſwaded to regard their fair ſpeeches at ſuch time as they want power, without other evident and unqueſtionable tokens of their converſion, deſerves to be King of the Night.* Now for this matter, I believe Mr. *Bayes* knows that his Majeſty hath received ſuch evident and unqueſtionable tokens of Loyalty from the Nonconformiſts; otherwiſe his own Loyalty would have hindred him from daring to uſe that expreſſion.

And now I ſhould continue my Hiſtory to his third Book in hand, the Preface to Biſhop *Bramhal*. But having his ſecond Book ſtil before me, I could not but look a little further into it, to ſee how he hath left matters ſtanding betwixt himſelf and his Anſwerer. And firſt I lighted on that place where he

ſtrives to diſintangle himſelf from what he had ſaid about Trade in his former Book. Here therefore he defies the whole Fanatick world to diſcover one Syllable that tends to its diſcouragement. Let us put it upon that iſſue, and by this one example take the patern of his ingenuity in all his other conteſts. *Whoop*, Mr. *Bayes*, pag 49. *with what conſcience does the Anſwerer tell the people that I have repreſented all Tradeſmen as ſeditious, when 'tis ſo notorious I only ſuppoſe that ſome of them may be tainted with Seditious Principles? If I ſhould affirm that when the Nobility or Clergie are poſſeſt with Principles that incline to Rebellion and diſloyal Practices, they are of all Rebels the moſt dangerous, ſhould I be thought to impeach them of Treaſon and Rebellion?* Holla, Mr. *Bayes!* But in the 49th page of your firſt Book you ſay expreſly, *For 'tis notorious that there is not any ſort of people ſo inclinable to Seditious Practices as the Trading part of a Nation.* Is this the ſame thing now? and how does this Defence take off the Objection? And yet he tears and inſults

and

and declaims as if he had the Truth on his ſide. At laſt he ſtrives to bring himſelf off and ſalve the matter in the ſame page 49. With, *In brief it is not the rich Citizen, but the Wealthy Fanatick that I have branded for an ungovernable Beaſt, and that not as Wealthy but as Fanatick.* Subtle Diſtinguiſher! I ſee if we give him but Rope enough what he will come to. Mr. *Bayes*, many as proper a man as your ſelf hath march'd up *Holborn* for diſtinguiſhing betwixt the Wealth and the Fanatick: and moreover let me tell you, Fanatick Money hath no Ear-mark.

So concerning the Magiſtrates power in Religion, wherein his Anſwerer had remark'd ſome unſafe paſſages: *Whoop* Mr. *Bayes!* P. 12. of his firſt Book before quoted: *Unleſs Princes have power to bind their Subjects to what Religion they apprehend moſt advantagious*, &c. *they are no better than Statues of Authority. Holla Bayes.* Pag. 467. of the ſecond Book: *This bold Calumny I have already I hope competently enough diſcovered and deteſted. Yet he repeats this fundamental*

Forgery in all places, ſo that his whole Book is but one huge Lye 400 pages long. Judge now who is the Forger; And yet he roars too here as if he would mix Heaven and Earth together. But you may ſpare your raving, you will never claw it off as long as your name is *Bayes*.

So his Anſwerer it ſeems having *p.* 85. ſaid, that *Bayes* confines the whole Duty of Conſcience to the inward thoughts and perſwaſions of the mind, over which the Magiſtrate hath no power at all: *Whoop, Bayes*, page 89. of his firſt Book, *Let all matters of mere Conſcience, whether purely moral or religious, be ſubject to Conſcience only, i. e. Let men think of things according to their own perſwaſions, and aſſert the Freedom of their Judgments againſt all the Powers of the Earth. This is the Prerogative of the mind of man within its own Dominions, its Kingdom is intellectual,* &c. *P.* 91. *Liberty of Conſcience is internal and inviſible, and confined to the minds and judgements of men: and while Conſcience acts within its proper ſphere, the Civil*

power

power is ſo far from doing it Violence, that it never can. Holla Bayes. p. 229. of his Second Book, *This in down right Engliſh is a ſhameleſs Lye. Sir, you muſt pardon my rudeneſs, for I will aſſure you, after long Meditation, I could not deviſe a more pertinent anſwer to ſo bold an one as this.* I believe you Mr. *Bayes*: You meditated long, ſome twelve months at leaſt; and you could not deviſe any other anſwer, and in good earneſt he hath not attempted to give any other anſwer. *I confeſs 'tis no extraordinary Conceit, but tis the beſt Repartee, my barren Fancy was able to ſuggeſt to me, upon ſo rude an occaſion.* Well, Mr. *Bayes*! I ſee it muſt come to a quarrel; for thus the Hectors uſe to do, and to give the Lye at adventure, when they have a minde to try a mans Courage. But I have often known them dye on the ſpot.

So his Anſwerer *p.* 134. having taxed him for his ſpeaking againſt an expreſſion in the Act of Parliament of 5*to Eliz.* concerning the Wedneſday Faſt. *Whoop, Bayes, pag.* 59. of his

firſt Book. *The Act for the Wedneſday Faſt the Jejunium Cecilianum* (our Eccleſiaſtical Politician is the better States-man of the two by far, and may make ſport with *Cecil* when he pleaſes) *was injoynd with this clauſe of Exception, That if any perſon ſhould affirm it to be impoſed with an intention to bind the Conſcience, he ſhould be puniſhed as ſpreader of falſe News.* So careful was the ſupreme Magiſtrate in thoſe dayes not to impoſe upon the Conſcience; and the Wiſdom of it is confirmed by the experience of our time: When ſo eminent a Divine, as I mentioned before, thought fit to write a whole Volumne concerning the Holineſs of LENT; though, if I be not deceived, this Doctrine too is prohibited by Act of Parliament, under the ſame Penalty. But, ſaith *Bayes* there, *The matter indeed of this Law was not of any great moment, but this Declaration annexed to it proved of a fatal and miſchievous Conſequence.* 'Tis very well worth reading at large: but in ſhort the Conſequence (or the occaſion 'tis no

mat-

matter when I have to do with *Bayes*) was, that "Princes how peremptory "ſoever they have been in aſſerting "the Rights of their Supreme Pow-"rer, in Civil Affairs, they have "been forced to ſeem modeſt and dif-"fident in the exerciſe of their Ex-"cleſiaſtical Supremacy. Now, *Hol-la, Bayes. p.* 298. of his Second Book. "To what purpoſe does he ſo briskly "taunt me for thwarting mine own "principles, becauſe I have cenſu-"red the impertinency of a needleſs "Proviſion in an Act of Parliament. Obſerve, theſe are not the Anſwerers but *Bayes* his own Words; whereby you may ſee with what Reverence and Duty he uſes to ſpeak of his Superiours and their Actions, when they are not ſo happy as to pleaſe him. "I may "obey the Law, though I may be of a "different Perſwaſion from the Law-"givers in an Opinion remote and "impertinent to the matter of the Law "it ſelf: nay, I may condemne the "wiſdom of enacting it, and yet at the "ſame time think my ſelf to lie under

"an

" an indiſpenſable Obligation to obey
" it: for the formal reaſon of its ob-
" ligatory power (as any Caſuiſt will
" inform him) is not the Judgment
" and Opinion of the Law-giver, but
" the Declaration of his Will and Plea-
" ſure. Very good and ſound Mr. *Bayes*: but here you have opened a paſſage; and this is as impertinent in you and more dangerous than what you blamed in that Act, that the Non-Conformiſts may ſpeak againſt your Eccleſiaſtical Laws; for their Caſuiſts then tell them that, they lying under an indiſpenſable obligation not to conform to ſome of them, do fulfil and ſatisfy their Obedience in ſubmitting to the penalty.

I looked further into what he ſaith in defence of the Magiſtrates aſſuming the Prieſthood; what for his Scheme of moral Grace; what to palliate his irreverent expreſſions concerning our Bleſſed Saviour and the Holy Spirit; what of all other matters objected by his Anſwerer: and if you will beleive me; but I had much rather the Reader

der would take the pains to examine all himſelf, there is ſcarce any thing but ſlender trifling unworthy of a Logician, and beaſtly railing unbecoming any man, much more a Divine. At laſt, having read it all through with ſome attention, I reſolved, having failed ſo of any thing material, to try my fortune whether it might be more lucky, and to open the Book in ſeveral places as it chanced. But, whereas they ſay that in the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, whereſoever you light you will find ſomthing that will hit and is proper to your intention; on the contrary here, there was not any leaf that I met with but had ſomething impertinent, ſo that I reſolved to give it over. This only I obſerved upon the whole, that he does treat his Anſwerer the moſt baſely and ingratefully that ever man did. For, whereas in his whole firſt Book there was not one ſound Principle, and ſcarce any thing in his ſecond, but what the Anſwerer had given him occaſion to amend and rectifie if he had underſtanding; after ſo great an obligation he handles him with

with more rudeneſs than is imaginable. I know it may be ſaid in Mr. *Bayes* his defence, that in this his ſecond Book he hath made his matters in many places much worſe then they were before. But I ſay that was *Bayes* his want of underſtanding, and that he knew not how to take hold of ſo charitable an opportunity as was offered him, and 'twas none of the Anſwerers fault. There are amongſt men ſome that do not ſtudy alwayes the true Rules of Wiſdom and Honeſty, but delight in a perverſe kind of Cunning, which ſometimes may take for a while and attain their deſign, but moſt uſually it fails in the end and hath a foul farewell. And ſuch are all Mr. *Bayes* his Plots. In all his Writings he doth ſo confound terms, he leaps croſs, he hath more doubles (nay triples and quadruples) than any Hare, ſo that he thinks himſelf ſecure of the Hunters. And in this ſecond Book, even the length of it was ſome Policy. For you muſt know it is all but an Epiſtle to the Author of the *Friendly Debate*; and thought he with himſelf, who

hath

hath ſo much leiſure from his own affairs that he will read a Letter of another mans buſineſs of eight hundred pages? But yet, thought he again, (and I could be content they did read it) in all matters of Argument I will ſo muddle my ſelf in Ink, that there ſhall be no catching no finding me; and beſides I will ſpeak alwayes with ſo Magiſterial a Confidence, that no modeſt man (and moſt ingenious perſons are ſo) ſhall ſo much as quetch at me, but be beat out of Countenance: and plain men ſhall think that I durſt not talk at ſuch a rate but that I have a Commiſſion. I will firſt, ſaid he in his heart, like a ſtout Vagrant, beg, and, if that will not do, I will command the Queſtion and as ſoon as I have got it I will ſo alter the property and put on another Periweg that I defie them all for diſcovering me or ever finding it again. This, beſide all the lock and advantage that I have the Nonconformiſts upon ſince the late times; and though they were born ſince, and have taken more ſober Principles, it ſhall be all one for

that

that matter. And then for Oratory and Railing, let *Bayes* alone. This contrivance is indeed all the ſtrength of Mr. *Bayes* his Argument, and, as he ſaid, (how properly let the Reader judge) *p.* 69. before quoted, *that Moral Virtue is not onely the moſt material and uſeful part of all Religion, but the ultimate end of all its other Duties:* So, Railing is not onely the moſt material and uſeful part of his Religion, his Reaſon, his Oratory, and his Practiſe; but the ultimate end of this and all his other Books. Otherwiſe he is neither ſo ſtrongly fortified nor ſo well guarded, but that without any Ceremony of Trenches or Approaches, you may at the very firſt march up to his Counters-ſcarp without danger. He puts me in minde of the incorrigible Scold, that though ſhe was duck'd over head and ears under water, yet ſtretched up her hands with her two thumb-nails in the Nit-cracking poſture, or with two fingers divaricated, to call the man ſtill in that Language Louſy Raſcal and Cuckold. But in-

deed

deed, when I conſider how miſerable a Wretch his Anſwerer has rendred him, and yet how he perſiſts ſtill, and more to rail and revile him; I can liken it to nothing better betwixt them, than to what I have ſeen with ſome pleaſure the Hawking at the Magpy. The poor bird underſtands very well the terrible pounces of that Vulture: but therefore ſhe chatters amain moſt rufully, and ſpreads and cocks her tail, ſo that one that firſt ſaw and heard the ſport would think that ſhe inſulted over the Hawk in that chatter, and ſhe huff'd her train in token of courage and Victory: when, alas, 'tis her fear all, and another way of crying the Hawk mercy, and to the end that the Hawk finding nothing but tail and feather to ſtrike at, ſhe may ſo perhaps ſhelter her body.

Therefore I think there is nothing in my way that hinders me, but that I may now go on to the Hiſtory of this Mr. *Bayes* his Third Book, the Preface to Biſhop *Bramhall*, and to what *Juncture of Affairs* it was reconciled. His

Majeſty (perhaps upon Mr. *Bayes* his frequent Admonitions both in his firſt and ſecond Book, that Princes ſhould be more attentive and confident in exerciſing their Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, though, I rather believe, he never deſign'd to read a line in him, but what he did herein, was onely the reſult of his own good underſtanding) reſolved to make ſome clear tryal how the Nonconformiſts could bear themſelves under ſome Liberty of Conſcience. And accordingly he iſſued, on *March* the 15th 1671, His Gracious *Declaration of Indulgence*, of which I wiſh His Majeſty and the Kingdom much joy, and, as far as my ſlender judgment can divine, dare augurate and preſage mutual Felicity, and that what ever humane Accident may happen (I fear not what *Bayes* foreſees) they will, they can never have cauſe to repent this Action or its Conſequences. But hereupon *Bayes* finding that the King had ſo vigorouſly exerted his Eccleſiaſtical Power, but to a purpoſe quite contrary to what

Mr.

Mr. *Bayes* had alwayes intended, he grew terrible angry at the King and his Privy Council: ſo that hereupon *he ſtarted*, as himſelf ſaies, *into many warm and glowing Meditations: his heart burnt and the fire kindled, and that heated him into all this wild and rambling talk* (as ſome will be forward enough to call it) *though he hopes it is not altogether idle, and whether it be or be not, he hath now neither leiſure nor patience to examine.* This he confeſſes upon his beſt recollection, in the laſt page of this Preface: Whereupon I cannot but animadvert, as in my firſt page, that this too lies open to his *Dilemma* againſt the Nonconformiſts Prayers: For if he will not accept his own Charge, his Modeſty is all impudent & counterfeit: If he does acknowledge it, he is an hot-headed Incendiary; and a wild rambling talker, and in part, if not altogether, an idle Fellow. Really I cannot but pity him, and look upon him as under ſome great diſturbance and diſpondency of mind: that this with ſome other ſcattering paſſages

here and there, argues him to be in as ill a caſe as *Tiberius* was in his diſtracted Letter to the Senate: There wants nothing of it but the *Dii Deæque me perdant* wiſhing, Let the Gods and the Goddeſſes confound him worſe than he finds himſelf to be every day confounded. But that I may not loſe my thred. Upon occaſion of this his Majeſties Gracious Declaration, and againſt it, he writes this his third Book the *Preface to Biſhop Bramhall*, and accordingly was unhappily delivered of it in *June* (I have forgot) or *July*, in 1672. For he did not goe his full time of it, but miſcarryed; partly by a fright from *J. O.* and partly by a fall he had upon a *Cloſer Importance*. But of all his three Bolts this was the ſooneſt ſhot, and therefore tis nowonder if he miſſ'd his mark, and took no care where his arrow glanced. But what he ſaith of his Majeſty and his Council, being toward the latter end of his Diſcourſe, I am forced to defer that a little, becauſe, there being no method at-all in his wild rambling talk;

talk; I muſt either tread juſt on in his footſteps, or elſe I ſhall be in a perpetual maze, and never know when I am come to my journeyes end.

And here I cannot altogether eſcape the mentioning of *J. O.* again, whom (though I have ſhown that he was not the main cauſe of publiſhing *Bayes* his Books) yet he ſingles out, and on his pretence runs down all the Nonconformiſts; this being, as he imagined, the ſafeſt way by which he might proceed firſt to undermine and then blow up his Majeſties gracious Declaration. And this indeed is the leaſt immethodical part of the whole Diſcouſe. For firſt he undertakes to defend, that Railing is not onely lawful, but expedient. Secondly, that though he had Railed, the perſon he ſpoke of ought not to have taken notice of it. And Thirdly, that he did not Rail. As to theſe things I do not much trouble my ſelf, nor intereſt my ſelf in the leaſt in *J. O.*'s Quarrel: no otherwiſe than if he were *John a Nokes* and I heard him rail'd at by *John a Stiles*: Nor yet

would I concern my ſelf unneceſſarily in any mans behalf; Knowing that 'tis better being at the beginning of a Feaſt, than to come in at the latter end of a Fray. For if ſo I ſhould, as often it happens in ſuch Rencounters, not onely draw Mr. *Bayes*, but *J. O.* too upon my back, I ſhould have made a ſweet buſineſs on't for my ſelf.

Now as to the Lawfulneſs and Expedience of Railing; were it not that I do really make Conſcience of uſing Scripture with ſuch a drolling Companion as Mr. *Bayes*, I could overload him thence both with Authority and Example. Nor is it worth ones while to teach him out of other Authors, and the beſt precedents of the kind, how he, being a Chriſtian and a Divine, ought to have carried himſelf. But I cannot but remark his Inſolence and how bold he makes upon this Argument, p. 88. of his Second Book, with the Memories of thoſe great Perſons there enumerated, ſeveral of whom, and particularly my Lord *Verulam*, I could quote to his confuſion, upon a contrary

trary and much better account. *So far am I from repenting my ſeverity towards them, that I am tempted rather to applaud it by the Glorious examples of the greateſt Wits of our Nation, King James, Arch-Biſhop Whitgift, Arch-Biſhop Bancroft, Biſhop Andrews, Biſhop Bilſon, Biſhop Mountegue Biſhop Bramhal, Sir Walter Rawleigh, Lord Bacon &c.* and he might have added Mr. *Tarlton* with as good pretence to this honour as himſelf. The *Niches* are yet empty in the Old Exchange; pray let us ſpeak to the Statuary that, next to King *James*'s, we may have *Bayes* his Effigies. For ſuch great Wits are Princes fellows, at leaſt when dead. At this rate there is not a Scold at *Billingſgate* but may defend her ſelf by the patern of King *James* and *Arch-Biſhop Whitgift*, &c. Yet this is paſſable, if you conſider our man. But that is moſt intolerable p. 17. of the Preface to his firſt Book, where he juſtifies his debauched way of writing by paralel to our Bleſſed Saviour. And I cannot but with ſome aw reflect how near the puniſhment was to

the offence; when having undertaken ſo profane an Argument, he was in the very inſtant ſo infatuated as to ſay that Chriſt was not only *in an hot fit of Zeal but in a ſeeming Fury too and tranſport of Paſſion.* But however, ſeeing he hath brought us ſo good Vouchers, let us ſuppoſe what is not to be ſuppos'd, that Railing is lawful. Whether it be expedient or no will yet be a new queſtion. And I think Mr. *Bayes*, when he hath had time *to cool his thoughts*, may be truſted yet with that conſideration, and to compute whether the good that he hath done by Raillieg do countervaile the damage which both he in particular and the Cauſe he labours, have ſuffered by it. For in my obſervation, if we meet with an Argument in the Streets, both Men, Women and Boys, that are the Auditory, do uſually give it on the modeſter ſide, and conclude, that he that rails moſt has the leaſt reaſon.

For the ſecond, Where he would prove that though he had railed, yet his Anſwerer *J. O.* ought not to have taken

taken notice of it, nor thoſe of the Party who are under the ſame condemnation, but that he ſhould have abſtracted and kept cloſe to the Argument, I muſt confeſs it is a very ſecure and wholſom way of railing. And allowing this, he hath good reaſon to find fault with his Anſwerer, as he does, for turning over his Book, though without turning it over I know not how he could have anſwered him, but with his Hat, or with Mum. But for ought I can ſee in that only anſwer which is to his firſt Book, he hath been obedient and abſtracted the Argument ſufficiently; and if he hath been any where ſevere upon him, he hath done it more cleanly and much more like a Gentleman, and it hath been only in ſhowing the neceſſary inferences that muſt follow upon the Authors Maximes, and unſound Principles. But as to any anſwer to *Bayes* his ſecond Book or this third, for ought I can ſee *J. O.* ſleeps upon both Ears.

To his third undertaking, to ſhow that he hath not Rail'd; I ſhall not ſay

ſay any thing more, but let it be judg'd by the Company, and to them let it be refer'd. But in my poor opinion I never ſaw a man thorow all his three Books in ſo high a Salivation.

And therefore, till I meet with ſomething more ſerious, I will take a walk in the Garden and gather ſome of Mr. *Bayes* his Flowers. Or I might more properly have ſaid I will go ſee *Bedlam* and pick ſtraws with our Mad-man. Firſt he ſaith, that ſome that pretend a great intereſt in the holy Brother-hood, upon every ſlight accident are beating up the Drums againſt the Pope and Popiſh Plots; they diſcry Popery in every common and uſual chance, and a Chimny cannot take fire in the City or Suburbs but they are immediately crying Jeſuites and Firebals. I underſtand you, Sir. This, Mr. *Bayes*, is your Prologue, that is to be ſpoke by *Thunder* and *Lightning*. *I am loud Thunder, brisk Lightning I. I ſtrike men down. I fire the Town— Look too't. Wee'l doot.* Mr. *Bayes*, it is ſomething dangerous medling with thoſe matters. As innocent

cent perſons as your ſelf, have felt the fury of the wild multitude, when ſuch a Calamity hath diſordered them. And after your late Severity againſt Tradeſmen, it had been better you had not touched the fire. Take heed leſt the Reaſons which ſparkle, forſooth, in your Diſcourſe have not ſet their Chimnyes on fire. None accuſes you, what you make ſport with, of burning the Ships at *Chatham*, much leſs of blowing up the *Thames*. But you ought to be careful, leſt having ſo newly diſtinguiſhed betwixt the Fanatick and his Wealth, they ſhould ſay, That you are diſtinguiſhing now betwixt the Fanaticks and their Houſes. Theſe things are too edged to be jeſted with: if you did but conſider that not onely the *Holy Brotherhood*, but the *Sober and intelligent Citizens* are equally involved in theſe ſad Accidents. And in that lamentable Conflagration (which was ſo terrible, that though ſo many years agoe, it is yet freſh in mens memories, and beſides, is yearly by Act of *Parliament*

ment obſerved with due Humiliation and Solemnity.) It was not Trade onely and Merchandiſe ſuffered, which you call their *Diana*, and was not ſo much to be conſidered; But Saint *Pauls* too was burnt, which the Hiſtorians tell us was *Diana*'s Temple.

The next thing is more directly levell'd at *J. O.* for having in ſome later Book uſed thoſe words, *We cannot conform to Arminianiſm or Socinianiſme on the one hand, or Popery on the other.* What the Anſwerer meant by thoſe words, I concern not my ſelf. Onely I cannot but ſay, That there is a very great neglect ſomewhere, whereſoever the Inſpection of Books is lodged, that at leaſt the *Socinian* Books are tolerated and ſell as openly as the Bible. But *Bayes* turns all into Mirth; *He might as well have added all the -iſms in the Old Teſtament, Perizzitiſm, Hivitiſm, Jebuzitiſm, Hivitiſm*, &c.

No, Mr. *Bayes*, that need not; and though this indeed is a very pretty Conceit, and 'twere pity it ſhould

have

have been loſt; yet I can tell you a better way. For, if rhiming be the buſineſs, and you are ſo good at *tagging of points in a Garret*, there is another word that will do it better, and for which, I know not how truly, you tax your Anſwerer too here, as if he ſaid, *The Church of England were deſperately Schiſmatical, becauſe the Independents are reſolved one and all, to continue ſeparate from her Communion.* Therefore let *Schiſm*, if you pleaſe, rhime to *-iſm*. And though no man is obliged to produce the Authority of the greateſt Wits of the Nation to juſtify a Rhime, yet for your *dear ſake*, Mr. *Bayes*, I will this once ſupererogate. The firſt ſhall be your good friend Biſhop *Bramhall*, who among many other memorable Paſſages, which I believe were the reaſon that he never thought fit to print his own Book; p. 101. teaches us, not abſurdly, that *It was not the erroneous Opinions of the Church of Rome, but the obtruding them by Laws upon other Churches, which warranted a Separation.* But if this

will

will not doe, *Vous avez* Doctor *Thorndikes* Depoſition in print, for he, I hear, is lately dead. *The Church of* England *in ſeparating from the Church of* Rome, *is guilty of Schiſm before God.* I have not the Book by me, but I am ſure 'tis candidly recited as I have read it. Then (to ſhow too that there is a King on this ſide) his preſent Majeſty's Father in his Declaration 4*to Caroli*, 1628. affirms that a Book, entituled, *Appello Cæſarem* or *an Appeal to Cæſar*, and *publiſhed in the year* 1625. *by Richard Montague then Batcheler of Divinity, and now Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *had opened the way to thoſe Schiſms and Diviſions which have ſince enſued in the Church, and that therefore for the redreſs and remedy thereof, and for the ſatisfaction of the Conſciences of his good People, he had not only by publick Proclamation called in that Book, which miniſtred matter of offence, but to prevent the like danger for the future, reprinted the Articles of Religion, eſtabliſhed in the time of Queen* Elizabeth *of Famous Memory: and by a Declaration, before thoſe Articles, did reſtrain*

ſtrain all Opinions to the Senſe of thoſe Articles, that nothing might be left for private Fancies and Innovations, &c. And if this will not amount fully, I ſhall conclude with a Villanous *Pamphlet* that I met with t'other day; but of which a *great Wit* indeed was the Author. And, whereas Mr. *Bayes* is alwayes defying the Nonconformiſts with Mr. *Hookers Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, *and the Friendly Debate*; I am of opinion, though I have a great Reverence for Mr. *Hooker*, who in ſome things did anſwer himſelf, That this little Book, of not full eight leaves, hath ſhut that *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, and Mr. *Bayes*'s too, out of doors: But for the *Friendly Debate*, I muſt confeſs, that is unanſwerable. 'Tis one Mr. *Hales* of *Eaton*, a moſt learned Divine, and one of the Church of *England*, and moſt remarkable for his Sufferings in the late times, and his Chriſtian Patience under them. And I reckon it not one of the leaſt Ignominies of that Age, that ſo eminent a Perſon ſhould have been by the Iniqui-

ty

ty of the times reduced to thoſe neceſſities under which he lived; as I account it no ſmall honour to have grown up into ſome part of his Acquaintance, and convers'd a while with the living *remains* of one of the cleareſt heads and beſt prepared breſts in Chriſtendom. That which I ſpeak of is his little *Treatiſe of Schiſm*, which though I had read many years ago, was quite out of my mind, till I occaſionally light upon't at a Book-ſeller's ſtall. I hope it will not be tedious, though I write of ſome few (and yet whatſoever I omit, I ſhall have left behind more) material Paſſages. "Schiſm "is one of thoſe Theological Scar-"crows with which they who uſe to "uphold a party in Religion, uſe to "fright away ſuch, as making inquiry "into it are ready to relinquiſh and "oppoſe it, if it appear either erro-"neous or ſuſpicious. Schiſm is, if "we would define it, an unneceſſary "ſeparation of Chriſtians from that "part of the Viſible Church of which "they were once members. Some re-

verencing

"verencing Antiquity more than
"needs, have ſuffered themſelves to
"be ſcared with imputation of Schiſm
"more than needs. Nothing abſolves
"men from the guilt of Schiſm, but
"true and unpretended Conſcience.
"But the Judgments of the Ancients
"many times (to ſpeak moſt gently)
"are juſtly to be ſuſpected. Where
"the cauſe of Schiſm is neceſſary;
"there not he that ſeparates, but he
"that is the cauſe of Separation is the
"Schiſmatick. Where the occaſion
"of Separation is unneceſſary, neither
"ſide can be excuſed from guilt of
"Schiſm. But who ſhall be the Judg?
"That is a point of great difficulty;
"becauſe it carries fire in the Tail of
"it: for it brings with it a piece of
"Doctrine which is ſeldom pleaſing to
"Superiours. You ſhall find that all
"Schiſms have crept into the Church
"by one of theſe three waies, either
"upon matter of Fact, or upon mat-
"ter of Opinion, or point of Ambi-
"tion. For the firſt, I call that mat-
"ter of Fact, when ſomething is re-

"quired to be done by us, which either "we know or ſtrongly ſuſpect to be "unlawful. Where he inſtances in the old great Controverſy about EASTER, "For it being upon error taken for neceſſary that an Eaſter "muſt be kept, and upon worſe than "error (for it was no leſs than a "point of Judaiſm forc'd upon the "Church) thought further neceſſary "that the ground of the time for the "Feaſt, muſt be the Rule left by *Moſes* "to the Jews: there aroſe a ſtout Que-"ſtion, Whether 'twas to be celebrated with the Jews on the fourteenth "Moon, or the Sunday following. "This cauſed as great a Combuſtion "as ever was; the Weſt ſeparating "and refuſing Communion with the "Eaſt for many years together. Here "I cannot ſee but all the World were "Schiſmaticks, excepting only that "we charitably ſuppoſe to excuſe "them from it, that all parties did "what they did out of Conſcience. "A thing which befell them by the "ignorance, for I will not ſay the malice,

" malice, of their guides; and that
" through the juſt judgment of God,
" becauſe, through ſloth and blind obe-
" dience, men examined not the things
" they were taught, but like beaſts of
" burthen patiently couched down, and
" indifferently underwent all what-
" ſoever their Superiours laid upon
" them. If the diſcretion of the chief-
" eſt guides of the Church did, in a
" point ſo trivial, ſo inconſiderable, ſo
" mainly fail them: Can we without
" the imputation of great groſsneſs
" and folly, think ſo poor-ſpirited per-
" ſons competent Judges of the Que-
" ſtions now on foot betwixt the
" Churches? Where, or among
" whom, or how many the Church
" ſhall be, it is a thing indifferent:
" What if thoſe to whom the Execu-
" tion of the publick Service is com-
" mitted, do ſomethimg, either un-
" ſeemly or ſuſpicious, or peradven-
" ture unlawful; what if the Garments
" they wear be cenſured, nay, indeed
" be ſuſpicious. What if the geſture
" or adoration to be uſed to the Al-

"tars, as now we have learned to "ſpeak? What if the Homiliſt have "preached or delivered any Doctrine, "of the truth of which we are not well "perſwaded, (a thing which very "often falls out) yet, for all this, we "may not ſeparate, except we be con- "ſtrained perſonally to bear a part in "it our ſelves. Nothing can be a juſt "cauſe of refuſing Communion in "Schiſm, that concerns Fact, but on- "ly to require the execution of ſome "unlawful or ſuſpected Act. For, not "only in Reaſon, but in Religion too, "that Maxim admits of no releaſe, "*Cautiſſimi cujuſque præceptum, quod "dubitas ne feceris:* That whatſoever "you doubt of, that you in no caſe do. He inſtances then in the Second Coun- cil of *Nice*, where, ſaith he, the "*Sy- "nod* it ſelf was the Schiſmatical par- "ty in the point of uſing the Images, "which, ſaith he, all acknowledge "unneceſſary, moſt do ſuſpect, and "many hold utterly unlawful: Can "then the injoyning of ſuch a thing be "ought elſe but an abuſe? Can the re-

"refuſal of Communion here be
" thought any other thing than Duty?
" Here, or upon the like occaſion to ſe-
" parate, may peradventure bring per-
" ſonal trouble or danger, againſt
" which it concerns any honeſt man
" to have *Pectus preparatum.* Then of
" Schiſm from Opinion; Prayer, Con-
" feſſion, Thankſgiving, Reading of
" Scripture, Adminiſtration of Sacra-
" ments in the plaineſt and the ſimpleſt
" manner, were matter enough to fur-
" niſh out a ſufficient Liturgy, though
" nothing either of private Opinion
" or of Church Pomp, of Garments,
" of preſcribed Geſtures, of Imagery,
" of Muſick, of matter concerning
" the Dead, of many Superfluities
" which creep into the Church, under
" the name of Order and Decency
" did interpoſe it ſelf. To charge
" Churches and Liturgies with things
" unneceſſary was the firſt beginning of
" Superſtition. If the Fathers and ſpe-
" cial Guides of the Church would be
" a little ſparing in incumbring Chur-
" ches with Superfluities, or not over-

" ridged either in reviving obſolete cu-
" ſtoms, or impoſing new: there would
" be far leſs cauſe of Schiſm or Su-
" perſtition; and all the inconvenience
" likely to enſue, would be but this,
" They ſhould in ſo doing yield a little
" to the imbecility of their inferiours;
" a thing which Saint *Paul* would ne-
" ver have refuſed to do. It is alike
" unlawful to make profeſſion of
" known or ſuſpected falſhood, as to
" put in practiſe unlawful or ſuſpect-
" ed Actions. The third thing I na-
" med for matter of Schiſm was Am-
" bition, I mean Epiſcopal Ambi-
" tion; One head of which, is one
" Biſhops claiming Supremacy over
" another, which, as it hath been from
" time to time a great Treſpaſs a-
" gainſt the Churches Peace, ſo it is
" now the final ruine of it. For they
" do but abuſe themſelves and others,
" who would perſwade us that Biſhops
" by Chriſts Inſtitution have any Su-
" periority over other men further than
" that of Reverence or that any Biſhop
" is ſuperiour to another further than
" poſitive Order agreed upon among
Chriſtian

" Chriſtians hath preſcribed. Time
" hath taken leave, ſometimes, to fix
" this name of CONVENTICLES
" upon good and honeſt Meetings.
" Though open Aſſemblies are requi-
" red, yet, at all times while men are
" really pious, all Meetings of men for
" mutual help of Piety and Devotion,
" whereſoever, and by whomſoever ce-
" lebrated, were permitted without ex-
" ception. In times of manifeſt Cor-
" ruption and Perſecution, wherein
" Religious Aſſembling is dangerous,
" Private Meetings, howſoever beſides
" Publick Order, are not only lawful,
" but they are of Neceſſity and Duty.
" All pious Aſſemblies, in times of
" Perſecution and Corruption, ho wo-
" ever practiſed, are indeed, or rather
" alone, the Lawful Congregations:
" and Publick Aſſemblies, though ac-
" cording to form of Law, are, indeed,
" nothing elſe but RIOTS and CON-
" VENTICLES, if they be ſtained
" with Corruption and Superſtition.
Do you not ſee now, Mr. *Bayes*, that you needed not have gone ſo for a

word, when you might have had it in the Neighbourhood? If there be any Coherence left in your Scull, you cannot but perceive that I have brought you Authority enough to prove that *Schiſm* (for the Reaſon we may diſcourſe another time) do's at leaſt rhime to *Iſm*. But you have a peculiar delight and felicity, (which no man envies you) in Scripture-Drollery, nothing leſs will taſte to your Palate: whereas otherwiſe you have travelled ſo far in *Italy*, that you could not eſcape the Titles of ſome Books which would have ſerved your turn as well, *Cardinaliſm*, *Nepotiſm*, *Putaniſm*, if you were in a *Paroxiſm* of the *Iſm's*.

When I had writ this, and undergon ſo grateful a Penance for no leſs than that I had tranſcribed before out of our Author; I could not upon comparing them both together but reflect moſt ſeriouſly upon the difference of their two wayes of Diſcourſing. I could not but admire that Majeſty and Beauty which ſits upon the forehead of maſculine Truth and generous Honeſty: but no

leſs

leſs deteſt the Deformity of Falſhood diſguiſed in all its Ornaments. How much another thing it is to hear him ſpeak, that hath cleared himſelf from froth and growns, and who ſuffers neither Sloth nor Fear, nor Ambition, nor any other tempting Spirit of that nature to abuſe him, from one, who as Mr. *Hales* expreſſeth it, makes Chriſtianity lackque to Ambition; How wretchedly, the one to uphold his *Fiction*, muſt incite Princes to Perſecution and Tyranny, degrade Grace to Morality, debauch Conſcience againſt its own Principles, diſtort and miſ-interpret the Scripture, fill the World with Blood, Execution, and Maſſacre; while the other needs and requires no more but a peaceable and unprejudicate Soul and the native Simplicity of a Chriſtian-ſpirit! And me-thinks, if our Author had any ſpark of Vertue unextinguiſhed, he ſhould, upon conſidering theſe together, retire into his Cloſet, and there lament and pine away for his deſperate follie; for the diſgrace he hath, as far as in him is, brought upon the

Church

Church of England by ſuch an undertaking, and for the eternal ſhame to which he has hereby condemn'd his own Memory.

I ask you heartily pardon, Mr. *Bayes*, for treating you againſt *Decorum* here, with ſo much gravity. 'Tis poſſible I may not trouble you above once or twice more in the like nature; but ſo often at leaſt, I hope, one may in the writing of a whole Book, have leave to be ſerious. Your next Flower, and that indeed is a ſweet one, *Dear Heart, how could I hug and kiſs thee for all this Love and Sweetneſs?* Fy, fy, Mr. *Bayes*, Is this the Language of a Divine, and to be uſed, as you ſometimes expreſs it, in the face of the Sun? Who can eſcape from thinking that you are adream'd of your *Comfortable Importance?* Theſe are (as the *Moral Satyriſt* calls them in the cleanlieſt manner the thing would bare) *Words left betwixt the Sheets:* Somebody might take it ill that you ſhould miſapply your Courtſhip to an Enemy. But in the *Roman Empire* it was the

Privi-

priviledg of the Hangman to deflour a Virgin before Execution. But, ſweet Mr. *Bayes*, (for I know you do nothing without a precedent of ſome of the greateſt Wits of the Nation) Whoſe example had you for this *ſeeming Tranſport* of a gentler *Paſſion*.

Then comes, *Wellfare poor Macedo for a modeſt Fool.* This I know is matter of *Gazette*, which is as Canonical as *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*. Therefore I have the leſs to ſay to't. Only, I could wiſh that there were ſome ſeverer Laws againſt ſuch Villains who raiſe ſo falſe and ſcandalous reports of worthy Gentlemen; and that thoſe Laws were put in execution: And that men might not be ſuffered to walk the ſtreets in ſo confident a garb, who commit thoſe Aſſaſſinates upon the reputation of deſerving perſons.

Here follows a ſore Charge: that the Anſwerer had *without any provocation, in a publick and ſolemn way, undertaken the Defence of the Fanatick Cauſe.* Here, indeed, Mr. *Bayes*, You have Reaſon, And you might have had as juſt a quarrel

rel againſt whoſoever had undertaken it. For, your deſign and hope was from the beginning, that no man would have anſwered you in a publick and ſolemn way; and, nothing would vex a wiſe man, as you are, more than to have his Intention and Counſel fruſtrated. When you have rang'd all your forces in battel, when you have plac'd your Canon, when you have ſounded a charge, and given the Word to fall on upon the whole Party; if you could then perſwade every particular perſon of 'm, that you gave him no Provocation, I confeſs, Mr. *Bayes*, this were an excellent and a new way of your inventing, to conquer ſingle, ('tis your Moral Vertue) whole Armies. And ſo the *admiring Drove* might ſtand gaping, till one by one, you had cut all their throats. But, Mr. *Bayes*, I cannot diſcern but that you gave him as much Provocation in your firſt Book, as he has you in his *Evangelical Love, Church-Peace and Unity*, which is the pretence of your iſſuing this Preface.

For

For, having for your *Dear ſake* (beſide many other troubles that I have undertaken, withour your giving me any Provocation) ſought out and peruſed that Book too, I do not find you any where perſonally concern'd, but as you have, it ſeems upon ſome conviction, aſſumed to your ſelf ſome vices or errours againſt which he ſpeaks only in general, and with ſome modeſty. But for the reſt, you ſay upon full perperuſal, *you finde not one Syllable to the purpoſe, beſide a perpetual Repetition of the old out-worn Story of Unſcriptural Ceremonies, and ſome frequent whinings, and ſometimes ravings*, &c. Now to ſee the Dulneſs of ſome mens Capacities above others. I upon this occaſion, begun, I know not how it came, at p. 127. And thence read on to the end of his Book. And from thence I turn'd to the beginning and continued to p. 127. and could not all along, obſerve any thing but what was very pertinent to the matter in hand. But this is your way of excuſing your ſelf from replying to things that yet you will be medling

medling with, and nibling at: and 'tis beſides a pretty knack (the Nonconformiſts have it not alone) of frighting or diſcouraging ſober people from reading thoſe dangerous Treatiſes, which might contribute to their better information. I cannot but obſerve, Mr. *Bayes*, this admirable way (like fat *Sir John Falſtaffe*'s ſingular dexterity in ſinking) that you have of anſwering whole Books or Diſcourſes, how pithy and knotty ſoever, in a line or two, nay ſometimes with a word. So it fares with this Book of the Anſwerers. So with a Book or Diſcourſe of his, I know not, of the *Morality of the Lords Day*; which is anſwered by a *Septenary Portion in the Hebdomadal Revolution.* So, whether Book or Diſcourſe I alſo know not of the *Self-evidencing light of the Scripture*, where *Bayes* offers (and it ſeems ſtrange) to produce as good proofs for it out of the *Alcoran.* So I ſhow'd you where he anſwers Demonſtration with the Lye. And one thing more comes into my mind; where, after he has blun-

blunder'd a great while to bring himſelf off the Magiſtrates exerciſing the Prieſthood in his own perſon, he concludes with an irreſiſtible defence againſt his Anſwerer, *This is ſuitable to the Genius of his ingenuity, and betraies him as much as the word* INIANGLMENT, *which is the Shiboleth of all his Writings.* So he defeats all the *groſs bodies of Orthodoxy* with calling them *Syſtemes and Syntagmes.* So you know he anſwers all the Controverſial Books of the Calviniſts that ever have been written, with the Tale of *Robin Hood*, and the *mighty Bramble on the South ſide of the Lake Leman.* Mr. *Bayes*, You cannot enough eſteem and cheriſh this Faculty. For, next to your ſingle beating whole Armies, I do not know any Virtue that you have need of ſo often, or that will upon trial be found more uſeful.

And to this ſucceeds another Flower, I am ſure, though I can ſcarce ſmell out the Senſe of it. But it is printed in a diſtinct Character, and that is alwayes a certain ſign of a Flower. For our Book-ſellers have many

many Arts to make us *yield to their importunity*: and among the reſt, they promiſe us, that it ſhall be printed in fine Paper, and in a very large and fair letter; that it ſhall be very well examined that there be no Errata, that whereſoever there is a prety Conceit, it ſhall be marked out in another Character. But my greateſt care was that when I quoted any Sentence or word of our Author's, it might be ſo diſcernable, leſt I ſhould go for a Plagiary. And I am much offended to ſee that in ſeveral places he hath not kept touch with me. The Word of Mr. *Bayes*'s that he has here made notorious, is *Categoricalneſs*: and I obſerve that whereſoever there comes a word of that termination he ſhows it the ſame honour; as if he had a mind to make *Bayes* a Collar of *Neſſes*. What the myſtery is, I cannot ſo eaſily imagine; no more than of *Shiboleth* and *Intanglement*. But I doubt Mr. *Bayes* is ſick of many complicated Diſeaſes; or to keep to our rhime, *Sickneſſes*. He is troubled not only with the *Iſmes* but the *Neſſes*. He might, if

he

he had pleaſed, here too to have ſhow'd his wit, as he did in the others, and have told us of *Sheerneſs*, *Dongioneſs*, *Innerneſs* and *Cathneſs*. But he might very well have omitted it in this place, knowing how well he had acquitted himſelf in another, and out of the Scripture too, which gives his Wit the higheſt reliſh. 'Tis p. 72. of his firſt Book, where, to prove that the fruits of the Spirit are no more than Morality, he quotes Saint *Paul*, Gal. 5. 22. Where the Apoſtle enumerates them; *Love*, *Joy*, *Peace*, *Patience*, *Gentleneſs*, *Goodneſs*, *Faith*, *Meekneſs* and *Temperance*: but our Author tranſlates Joy to *Chearfulneſs*, Peace to *Peaceableneſs*, and Faith to *Faithfulneſs*: What Ignorance, or rather, what Forgery is this of Scripture and Religion? Who is there of the *Syſtematical*, *German*, *Geneva*, *Orthodox Divines*, but could have taught him better? Who is there of the *Sober*, *Intelligent*, *Epiſcopal Divines* of the Church of *England* but would abhor this Interpretation? Yet, when his Anſwerer, I ſee, objects this to him,

p. 220. *Bayes*, like a dexterous Scholaſtical Diſputant, it being told him, That Joy is not Chearfulneſs, but that *Spiritual Joy which is unſpeakable*; that Peace is not Peaceableneſs in his Senſe, but *that Peace of God which through Jeſus Chriſt is wrought in the hearts of Believers by the Holy Ghoſt*; and that Faith in God is there intended, not faithfulneſs in our Duties, Truſts or Offices: What dos he doe? *p.* 337. He very ingenuouſly and wiſely, when he is to anſwer, quite forgets that Faith was once named: and, having ſuppreſt that, as to the reſt he wipes his Mouth, and rubs his Forehead, and ſaith the *Cavil is but a little one, and the Fortune of* Cæſar *and the Roman Empire depend not upon it, and therefore he will not trouble the Reader with a Critical Account of the reaſon of his Tranſlation.* No, don't Mr. *Bayes*, 'Tis very well; let it alone. But, though not the Fortunes of *Cæſar* and the Roman Empire, I doubt there is ſomething more depends upon it, if it be matter of Salvation. And I am afraid beſides, that there may a curſe

too

too belong to him who ſhall knowingly add or diminiſh in the Scripture. Do you think Biſhop *Bramhall* himſelf, if he had ſeen this, could have abſtained (p. 117. before quoted,) from telling our Author *That the promiſcuous Licence given to people qualified or unqualified, not only to read but to interpret the Scriptures according to their private ſpirits or particular fancies, without regard either to the Analogy of Faith, which they underſtand not, or to the Interpretation of the Doctors of former Ages, is more prejudicial (I might better ſay) pernicious both to particular Chriſtians, and to whole Societies, than the over-rigorous reſtraint of the Romaniſts.*

The next is a piece of Mirth, on occaſion of ſome diſcourſe of the Anſwerers, about the Morality of the Lords-day: Where it ſeems, he uſeth ſome hard words, which I am naturally an enemy to; but might be done of purpoſe to keep the Controverſy from the white-Aprons, within the white Surplices, to be more learnedly debated. But this fares no better

than all the reſt. There is no kind of *Morality*, I ſee, but *Bayes* will try to debauch it: *Oh, what edifying Doctrine, ſaith he, is this to the White-Aprons! and doubtleſs they would with the Jews, ſooner roaſt themſelves, than a ſmall joint of Mutton upon the Sacred day of Reſt.* Now, I do not, neither, I believe, does *Bayes* himſelf know any of them that are thus ſuperſtitious. So that Mr. *Bayes* might, if he had pleaſed, have ſpared his jibing at that day, which hath more ſacredneſs in it by far than many, nay than any of thoſe things he pleads for. But when men are once *Adepti* and have attain'd *Bayes* his height, and *Divinity* at leaſt *is rightly underſtood*, they have a Priviledge, it ſeems, not onely to play and make merry *on* the Sabbath day, but *with* it.

After this I walked a great way through buſhes and brambles before I could find another Flower: but then I met with two upon one ſtalk; on occaſion of his Anſwerers having ſaid ſomething of the day of Judgment when men ſhould be accountable. *Oh*, ſaith he, *We*

ſhall

ſhall be ſure to be accounted with at the day of Judgment; and again, *Ah ſweet day, when theſe people of God ſhall once for all, to their unſpeakable Comfort and Support, wreak their eternal Revenge upon their reprobat Enemies.* This puts me in mind of another expreſſion of our Authors alluding too this way. *'Tis an eaſie matter by this dancing and capering humour to perpetuate all the Controverſies in the world, how plainly ſoever determinable, to the coming of* Elias: *and after this rate ſhall the Barbers baſon remain* Mambrino's *helmet; and the Aſſes Pannel a furniture for the Great Horſe, till the day of Judgment.* Now, good Mr. *Bayes*, I am one that deſire to be very well reſolved in theſe things; and though not much indeed, yet I attribute ſomething to your judgment. Pray tell us in good earneſt, what you think of theſe things, that we may know how to take our meaſures of living accordingly. For, if indeed there be no Judgment, no account for what is done here below, I have loſt a great deal of precious time, that I might have injoyed

in one of the fruits of your ſpirit, that is *Chearfulneſs*. How many good jeſts have I balk'd, even in writing this book, leſt I ſhould be brought to anſwer for every profane and idle word! How frequent opportunities have I miſt in my life of geniality and pleaſure, and fulfilling Nature in all its ends! How have you frighted the Magiſtrate in vain, from exerciſing his uncontrolable Eccleſiaſtical Power, with the fear of an after-reckoning to God Almighty! And how have you, p. 238. defeated the obligatory force of all his Laws, and ſet his Subjects at liberty from all obligations to the duty of Obedience: for they lye under no Obligation, you ſay then, but of Prudence and Self-intereſt. But unleſs there hath been ſome errour in our education, and we have been ſeaſoned with ill Books at firſt, ſo that we can never loſe the impreſſion, there is ſome ſuch matter, and the Governour had reaſon, when he trembled to hear Saint *Paul* diſcourſing of that Subject. The Fanatical *Book of Martyrs* (for we will

will not with ſome call the Bible ſo) tells us ſome old Stories of perſons that have been cited by ſome of them to appear at ſuch a day, and that by dying at the time prefixed, they have ſaved their Reconnoiſſances. And in the *Scotch* Hiſtory we read of a great Cardinal that was ſo ſummoned by poor Mr. *Guichard*, and yet could not help it, but he muſt take that long and ſad journey of Death to anſwer at the Grand Aſſizes. If therefore there be ſuch a thing, I would not for fear, and if there be not, yet I would not for good luck ſake, ſet that terrible day at defiance, or make too merry with it. 'Tis poſſible that the Nonconformiſts many of them may be too cenſorious of others, and too confident of their own Integrity. Others of them are more temperate, and perhaps deſtitute of all humane redreſs againſt their ſufferings: Some of thoſe make raſh Challenges, and the other juſt Appeals to appear at that dreadful Tribunal. In the mean time, 'tis not for you to be both the *Enemy* and their Judg. Much leſs do's

it befit you, becauſe perhaps they ſpeak too ſillily or demurely of it, or too braving and confidently, therefore to make a mere mockery of the whole buſineſs of that ſupreme Judge and Judicature. And one thing I will ſay more, though ſlighter; that, though I am not ſo far gone as *Campanella* was in the efficacy of words, and the magick of the face, and pronunciation, Yet I marked how your Anſwerer look'd when he ſpoke of the day of Judgment. Very gravely, I aſſure you, and yet without any depreſſing or exalting his *Supercilium*'s: And I have moſt often obſerved that ſerious words have produced ſerious Effects.

I have, by this time me-thinks, gather'd enow: nor are there many more left, unleſs I ſhould goe for a Flower to the *Dunghill*, which, he ſaith, *is his only Magazin*. And this being an expreſſion which he has ſeveral times uſed (for no Nonconformiſt repeats ſo often) I cannot but remark, that beſides his natural Talent, Mr. *Iayes* hath been very induſtrious, and neglected no op-

opportunity of acquiring a perfection of railing. For this is a phraſe borrowed from a modern Author lately dead, and I ſuppoſe *Bayes* had given him a Bond for repayment at the day that he ſpoke of ſo lately.

There are indeed ſeveral others at which I am forc'd to ſtop my noſe. For by the ſmell, any man may diſcern they grew upon a ranker ſoil, than that on the South-ſide of the *Lake Lemane*, even upon the bank of the *Thames* in the Meadow of *Billingsgate*: as that of the Lye, which, he ſaith, no Gentleman, much leſs a Divine, ought to put up. Now if this were to be tryed by a Court-Martial of the Brothers of the Blade, 'Tis to be conſidered whether it were the down-right Lye, or whether it were only the Lye by Interpretation. For in the diſputes of the Schools there is nothing more uſual, than *Hoc eſt Verum. Hoc eſt falſum.* But this paſſes without any blemiſh of Honour on either ſide, and ſo far it is from any obligation to a Challenge or a Duel, that it never comes to be decided, ſo much

much as by the Study-door key. But *quod reſtat probandum* do's the buſineſs without demanding other ſatisfaction. Then, if it were the down-right Lye; it is to be examined who gave the Lye firſt: for that alters the caſe. And laſt of all (but which is indeed upon a quarrel the leaſt material point, yet, it too comes under ſome conſideration) which of the two was in the right, and which of them ſpoke truth, and which lyed. Theſe are all things to be diſcuſſed in their proper places. For I do not obſerve that the Anſwerer gave *Bayes* the down-right Lye. But I find that *Bayes* gave him the Lye firſt in terms. And as to the Truth of the things controverted and alledged, there needs no more than the depoſitions that I formerly tranſcribed concerning *Bayes* his own words. But all this is only a Scene out of *Bayes* his *Rehearſal*.

Villain, thou lieſt,——
——Arm, arm, Valerio arm,
The Lie no fleſh can bear I trow.

And then as to the Succeſs of the Combate,

They

—They fly, they fly
Who first did give the Lye.

For that of Caitife, and other Provocations that are proper for the ſame Court, I will not meddle further. And for the being *paſt Grace and ſo paſt Mercy*; I ſhall only obſerve that the Church of *England* is much obliged to Mr. *Bayes* for having proved that Nonconformity is the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

There remains but one Flower more that I have a mind to. But that indeed is a Rapper. 'Tis a *Flower of the Sun*, and might alone ſerve both for a Staff and a Noſe-gay for any Noble-man's Porter. *Symbolicalneſs is the very Eſſence of Paganiſm, Superſtition and Idolatry. They will and ought ſooner to broyl in Smithfield than ſubmit to ſuch Abominations of the Strumpet and the Beaſt. 'Tis the very Potion wherewith the Scarlet-Whore made drunk the Kings of the Earth.* Heliogabalus *and Biſhop* Bonner *lov'd it like Clary and Eggs, and alwayes made it their mornings-draught upon burning days; and it is not to be doubted but the ſeven*

Vials

Vials of Wrath that were to be poured out upon the Nations of the Earth under the Reign of Antichriſt were filled with Symbolical Extracts and Spirits: with more ſuch ſtuff which I omit. This is I confeſs a pretty Poſy for the Noſe of ſuch a Divine. Doctor *Baily*'s Romance of the *Wall-Flower* had nothing comparable to't. And I queſtion, whether, as well as Mr. *Bayes* loves preferment, yet though he had lived in the Primitive-Church, he would not as *Heliodorus* Biſhop of *Triſſa*, I take it, that renounced his Biſhoprick rather than his title to the Hiſtory of *Theagenes* and *Chariclia*, have done in like manner: nay, and have delivered up his Bible too into the bargain, before he would quit the honour of ſo excellent a piece of Drollery. This is ſurely the Bill of Fare, not at the *Ordination--Dinner* at the *Nags-head*, but of the *Excuſation-Dinner* at the *Cock*; and never did Divine make ſo good Chear of *Owens* Peas-porridge and Scripture. Good Mr. *Bayes*, or Mr. *Thunder*, or Mr. *Cartwright* (not the Nonconformiſt *Cartwright*,

wright that was you ſay (as ſome others too of your acquaintance) converted: but the Player in the Rehearſal) this *Divinity* I doubt was the *Bacchus* of your Thigh, and not the *Pallas* of your Brain.

Here it is that after ſo great an exceſs of Wit, he thinks fit to take a Julep and reſettle his Brain, and the Government. He grows as ſerious as 'tis poſſible for a madman, and pretends to ſum up the whole ſtate of the Controverſie with the Nonconformiſts. And to be ſure he will make the ſtory as plauſible for himſelf as he may: But therefore it was that I have before ſo particularly quoted and bound him up with his own Words as faſt as ſuch a *Proteus* could be pinion'd. For he is as waxen as the firſt matter, and no Form comes amiſs to him. Every change of Poſture does either alter his opinion or vary the expreſſion by which we ſhould judg of it: and ſitting he is of one mind, and ſtanding of another. Therefore I take my ſelf the leſs concerned, to fight with a Wind-mill like

Don

Don Quixote: or to whip a Gig as boyes do, or with the Lacqueys at *Charing-cross* or *Lincolns-Inne*-fields to play at the *Wheel of Fortune*, leſt I ſhould fall into the hands of my Lord Chief Juſtice, or Sir *Edmond Godfrey*. The truth is in ſhort and let *Bayes* make more or leſs of it if he can; *Bayes* had at firſt built up ſuch a ſtupendious Magiſtrate, as never was of God's making. He had put all Princes upon the Rack to ſtretch them to his dimenſion. And, as a ſtreight line continued grows a Circle, he had given them ſo infinite a Power that it was extended unto Impotency. For though he found it not, till it was too late in the Cauſe; yet he felt it all along (which is the underſtanding of Brutes) in the Effect. For, hence it is that he ſo often complains, that Princes knew not aright that Supremacy over Conſcience, to which they were ſo lately, ſince their deſerting the Church of *Rome*, reſtored. That in moſt Nations Government was not rightly underſtood, and many expreſſions of that Nature: Whereas indeed the matter

is

is that Princes have alwayes found that uncontrolable Government over CONSCIENCE to be both unſafe and impracticable. He had run himſelf here to a ſtand, and perceiv'd that there was a God, there was Scripture; the Magiſtrate himſelf had a Conſcience, and muſt *take care that he did not injoyn things apparently evil.* Being at a ſtop here, he would therefore try how he could play the Broker on the Subjects ſide: and no Pimp did ever enter into ſeriouſer diſputation to vitiate an innocent Virgin, than he to debauch their Conſciences. And to harden their unpractis'd modeſty, he imboldens them by his own example, ſhowing them the experiment upon his own Conſcience firſt. But after all, he finds himſelf again at the ſame ſtand here and is run up to the Wall by an Angel: God, and Scripture, and Conſcience will not let him go further: but he owns, that if the Magiſtrate injoyns things apparently evil, the Subject may have liberty to remonſtrate. What ſhall he do then? for it is too glo-

rious

rious an enterprize to be abandon'd at the firſt rebuffe. Why he gives us a new Tranſlation of the Bible, and a new Commentary. He ſaith that Tenderneſs of Conſcience might be allowed in a Church to be conſtituted, not in a Church conſtituted already. That tenderneſs of Conſcience and Scandal are Ignorance, Pride and Obſtinacy. He ſaith, the Nonconformiſts ſhould communicate with him 'till they have clear evidence that it is evil. This is a civil way indeed of gaining the queſtion, to perſwade men that are unſatisfyed, to be ſatisfied till they be diſſatisfied. He threatens, he rails, he jeers them, if it were poſſible, out of all their Conſciences and Honeſty; and finding that will not doe, he calls out the Magiſtrate, tells him, theſe men are not fit to live, there can be no ſecurity of Government while they are in being: bring out the Pillories, Whipping-poſts, Gallies, Rods, and Axes, (which are *Ratio ultima Cleri*, a Clergy-mans laſt Argument, ay and his firſt too): and pull in pieces all the

Trading

Trading Corporations thoſe Neſts of Faction and Sedition. This is a faithful account of the ſumm and intention of all his undertaking, for which I confeſs, he was as pick'd a man as could have been employ'd or found out in a whole Kingdome: but it is ſo much too hard a Task for any man to atchieve, that no Gooſe but would grow giddy with it.

For whereas he reduces the whole Controverſy to a matter of two or three Symbolical Ceremonies (and if there be nothing elſe, more the ſhame of thoſe that keep ſuch a pudder for them) it is very well worth obſerving how he hath behaved himſelf, and how come off in this Diſpute. It ſeems that the Conformiſts define a Sacrament to be an Outward viſible ſign of an Inward Spiritual Grace. It ſeems that the Sacraments are uſually called in the Greek *Symbola*. It ſeems further that ſome of the Nonconformiſts, under the name therefore of Symbolical Ceremonies, diſpute the lawfulneſs of thoſe that are by our Church injoy-

ned, whereby the Nonconformists can onely intend that these Ceremonies are so applyed, as if they were of a Sacramental nature and institution, and that therefore they are unlawful. Our Authors Answerer handling this Argument, does among other things make use of a pertinent Passage in Saint *Austin*, *Signa quum ad res divinas pertinent Sacramenta appellantur.* What does Mr. *Bayes* in this case? for it went hard with him. Why, as good luck would have it, not being willing that so great a Politician, to the irreparable damage of the Church, should yet be destroyed, *J. O.* had forgot to quote the Book and the Page. Now though you send a man the length of your Weapon, and name your Second; Yet Mr. *Bayes* being, as you see often, admirably read in the Laws of Duelling, knew that unless the Time and Place be appointed, there is no danger. He saith therefore, p. 452. of his second Book, that he *should have advantage on his side, if he should lay odds with him, that there is no such passage in*

all

all the Volumns of Saint Auſtin. —But however, that it is neither civil nor ingenuous to trouble him with ſuch Objections, as he cannot anſwer without reading over eight or ten large Volumns in Folio. It was too much to expect from one of ſo much buſineſs, good *Auguſtulus:*

Quum tot ſuſtineas & tanta negotia ſolus;
Res Sacras Armis tuteris, Moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes —

Which may be thus tranſlated: When you alone have the Ceremonies to defend with Whipping-poſts, Rods and Axes; when you have Grace to turn into Morality; when you have the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity and the Eccleſiaſtical Declaration of *March* to tear in pieces; it were unreaſonable and too much to the dammage of the publick to put you on ſuch an imployment. I ask your Pardon, Mr. *Bayes*, for this Paraphraſe and Digreſſion: for

I perceive I am even hardned in my Latine, and am prone to uſe it without fear or reverence. But Mr. *Bayes*, there might have been a remedy for this, had you pleaſed. Where then were all your *Leaf-turners*? a ſort of poor Readers *that you, as well as Biſhop* Bramhal, *ought to have ſome Reverence for*, having made ſo much uſe of them to gather materials for your Structures and Superſtructures. I cannot be perſwaded, for all this, but that he knows it well enough, the paſſage being ſo remarkable in it ſelf, and ſo dirtyed with the Nonconformiſts thumbs, that he could not poſſibly miſs it: and I doubt he does but laugh at me now, when, to ſave him a labour, I tell him in the ſimplicity of my heart, that even I my ſelf met with it in *Ep.* 5*ta ad Marcellinum*, and the words theſe, *Nimis autem longum eſt convenienter diſputare de varietate ſignorum quæ cum ad res divinas pertinent Sacramenta appellantur.* But whether there be ſuch a place or no, he hath no mind that his Anſwerer ſhould make uſe of it: nor of the Schoolmen,

whom

whom before he had owned for the Authors of the Church of *England*'s Divinity; but would bind up the Anſwerer to the Law onely and the Goſpel. And now Mr. *Bayes* ſaith he will be of the School-mens opinion *as long as they ſpeak Senſe* and no longer, (and ſo I believe of Saint *Auſtin*'s) that is to ſay, ſo long as they will ſerve his turn: for all Politicians ſhake men off when they have no more uſe of 'm, or find them to thwart the deſign. But, Mr. *Bayes*, why may not your Anſwerer or any man elſe quote St. *Auſtin*, as well as you may the Scripture? I am ſure there is leſs danger of perverting the place, or of miſ-interpretation. And though perhaps a Nonconformiſt may value the Authority of the Bible above that of the Fathers, yet the *Welch* have a Proverb; that the Bible and a Stone do well together: meaning perhaps, that if one one miſs the other will hit. You, that are a Duelliſt, know how great a bravery 'tis to gain your enemies Sword, and that there is no more home-thruſt in diſputation, than the *Argu-*

mentum ad hominem. So that if your Adverſary fell upon you with one of your own Fathers, it was gallantly done on his part; and no leſs wiſely on yours to fence in this manner, and uſe all your ſhifts to put it by. For you too, Mr. *Bayes*, do know, no man better, that it is not at all times ſafe nor honourable to be of a *Fathers* opinion.

Having eſcaped this danger; he grows, nor can I blame him, exceeding merry: and inſults heavily over *Symbolical* whereſoever he meets with it, for in his Anſwerer I find it not. But whereſoever 'twas it ſerves to good purpoſe. For no man would imagine that he could have received ſo univerſal a Defeat, and appear in ſo good humour. A terrible Diſputant he is, when he has ſet up an hard word to be his Opponent; 'Tis a very wholeſome thing he knows, and prolongs life: for all the while he can keep up this ball, he may decline the Queſtion. But the poor word is ſure to be mumbled and mowſled to purpoſe, and to be made an example. But let us, with Mr. *Bayes* his leave, examine

amine the thing for once a little closer. The Nonconformists, as I took notice before, do object to some of the Rites of the Church of *England* under the name of Symbolical or significant Ceremonies. They observe the Church of *England* does in the discourse of Ceremonies printed before the Common Prayer Book, declare that the retaining of those Ceremonies, is not onely *as they serve for decent Order and godly Discipline; but as they are apt to stir up the dull mind of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some special and notable significancy whereby he may be edified.* They further observe the Church of *England's* definition of a Sacrament: That it is *an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual Grace.* They find these Ceremonies, so constituted, impos'd upon them by Authority; and moreover, according to our Authors principle, made a new part of the Divine Law. They therefore quarrel and except against these under the notion of Sacraments, and insist that the Church is not impowred to institute such Ceremonies

monies under ſuch obligations and penalties as they are impoſed. Or, if you will, in ſtead of Church you may ſay rather the Magiſtrate: for as much as our Author hath *pro hac vice* delivered the Keyes and the whole power of the Houſe into his hands.

Now the Author having got them at this lock, crys Victory. Nothing leſs will ſerve him than a three dayes triumph, as if he had conquered *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Africa*, and let him have a fourth day added, if he pleaſe, over the *Terra Incognita* of *Geneva*. There is no end of his Oſtentation and Pageantry: and the dejected Nonconformiſts follow the wheels of his Chariot, to be led afterwards to the Priſon and there executed. He had ſaid p. 446. of his Second Book, *Here* Cartwright *begun his Objection, and here he was immediately check'd in his Carrear by* Whitgift (you might Mr. Author, for reſpect ſake have called him at leaſt Mr. if not Archbiſhop *Whitgift*) *who told him plainly, he could not be ignorant that to the making of a Sacrament, beſides the external*

ternal Element, there is required a Commandment of God in his Word that it ſhould be done, and a promiſe annexed to it, whereof the Sacrament is a Seal. And in purſuance hereof, p. 447. our Author ſaith, *Here then I fix my foot, and dare him to his teeth, to prove that any thing can be capable of the nature or office of Sacraments that is not eſtabliſhed by Divine Inſtitution and upon Promiſe of Divine Acceptance.* Upon the confidence of this Argument 'tis that he *Hectors* and *Achillizes* all the Nonconformiſts out of the pit in this Preface. This is the Sword that was conſecrated firſt upon the Altar, and thence preſented to the Champions of the Church in all Ages. This is that with which Archbiſhop *Whitgift* gave *Cartwright his death's wound: and laid the Puritan Reformation a gaſping.* This is the weapon wherewith Maſter *Hooker gained thoſe laſting and eternal Trophies over that baffled Cauſe.* This is that with which Bp. *Bramhall wrought thoſe wonderful things that exceeded all belief.* This hath been tranſmitted ſucceſſively to the Writer

Writer of the *Friendly Debate*, and to this our Author. It is in concluſion the *Curtana* of our Church. 'Tis *Sir Salomon*'s ſword, Cock of as many men as it hath been drawn againſt. Wo worth the man that comes in the way of ſo dead-doing a tooll, and when weilded with the arm of ſuch a *Scanderbag* as our Author. The Nonconformiſts had need deſire a Truce to bury their dead. Nay there are none left alive to deſire it: but they are ſlain every mother's Son of them. Yet perhaps they are but ſtounded and may revive again. For I do not ſee all this while, that any of them have written, as a great Prelate of ours, a Book of *Seven Sacraments*: or attempted to prove that theſe *Symbolical* Ceremonies are indeed Sacraments. Nothing leſs. 'Tis that which they moſt labour againſt, and they complain that theſe things ſhould be impoſed on them with ſo high Penalty, as want nothing of a Sacramental nature but Divine Inſtitution. And becauſe an Humane Inſtitution is herein made of equal force to a Divine Inſtitution, therefore

it is that they are agrieved. All that they mean, or could mean, as far as I or any man can perceive, is only that theſe Ceremonies are a kind of *Anti-Sacraments*, and ſo obtruded upon the Church, that without condeſcending to theſe additional Inventions, no man is to be admitted to partake of the true Sacraments which were of Chriſt's appointing. For, without the Sign of the Croſs, our Church will not receive any one to Baptiſm, as alſo without kneeling no man is ſuffered to come to the Communion. So that methinks, our Author and his partners have wounded themſelves only with this Argument: and have had as little occaſion here to ſing their *Te Deum*'s, as the *Roman* Emperour had to triumph over the Ocean, becauſe he had gathered Periwinkles and Scallop ſhells on the Beach. For the Author may transform their reaſonings as oft as he pleaſes (even as oft as he doth his own, or the Scriptures): but this is indeed their Fort out of which I do not ſee they are likely to be beat with all our Authors Canon: that no

ſuch

ſuch new Conditions ought to be impoſed upon Chriſtians by a leſs than Divine Authority, and unto which if they do not ſubmit, though againſt their Conſciences, they ſhall therefore be deprived of Communion with the Church. And I wonder that our Author *could not obſerve any thing in the Diſcourſe of Evangelical love, that was to the purpoſe, beſide a perpetual repetition*, of the outworn ſtory of unſcriptural Ceremonies, and a peculiar uncouthneſs and obſcurity of ſtile; when as this Plea is there for ſo many pages diſtinctly and vigorouſly inſiſted on. For it is a childiſh thing (how high ſoever our Author magnifies himſelf in this way of reaſoning) either to demand from the Nonconformiſts a patern of their Worſhip from the Scripture, who affect therein a Simplicity free from all exterior circumſtances, but ſuch as are natural or cuſtomary: or elſe to require of them ſome particular command againſt the Croſs, or kneeling, and ſuch like Ceremonies, which in the time of the Apoſtles and many Ages after were never thought of.

But

But therefore general and applicable Rules of Scripture they urge as directions to the Conſcience; unto which our Author gives no ſatisfactory Solution, but by ſuperſeding and extinguiſhing the Conſcience, or expoſing it to the ſevereſt penalties. But here I ſay then is their main exception, that things indifferent, and that have no proper ſignature, or ſignificancy to that purpoſe, ſhould by command be made neceſſary conditions of Church-Communion. I have many times wiſhed for peaceableneſs-ſake that they had a greater latitude; but if unleſs they ſhould ſtretch their Conſciences till they tear again, they cannot conform, what remedy? For I muſt confeſs that Chriſtians have a better Right and Title to the Church, and to the Ordinances of God there, than the Author hath to his Surplice. And that Right is ſo undoubted and ancient, that it is not to be innovated upon by humane reſtrictions and capitulations.

Biſhop *Bramhall* p. 141. ſaith, *I do pro-*

† *profeſs to all the World, that the tranſforming of indifferent Opinions into neceſſary Articles of Faith, hath been that* Inſana Laurus, *or curſed Bay-tree, the cauſe of all our brawling and contention.* That which he ſaw in matter of Doctrine he would not diſcern in Diſcipline; whereas this among us, the transforming of things, at beſt indifferent, into neceſſary points of practice, hath been of as ill conſequence. And (to reform a little my ſerioufneſs) I ſhall not let this paſs without taking notice that you Mr. *Bayes*, being the moſt extravagant perſon in this matter that ever I heard of, as I have ſhown, you are mad, and ſo the *Inſaſana laurus*; ſo I wiſh you may not prove *that curſed Bay-tree too*, as the Biſhop tranſlates it. If you had thought of this, perhaps we might have miſſed both the Biſhops Book and your Preface; for you ſee that ſometimes no Man hath a worſe friend than he brings from home.

It is true, and very piouſly done, that our Church does declare that the kneel-

kneeling at the Lords Supper is not injoyned for adoration of thoſe Elements, and concerning the other Ceremonies as before. But the *Romaniſts* (from whom we have them, and who ſaid of old, we would come to feed on their Meat, as well as eat of their Porridge) do offer us here many a fair declaration, and diſtinction in very weighty matters, to which nevertheleſs the Conſcience of our Church hath not complyed. But in this particular matter of kneeling, which came in firſt with the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, the *Romiſh Church* do reproach us with flat Idolatry, in that we not believing the real preſence in the Bread and Wine, do yet pay to ſomething or other the ſame adoration. Suppoſe the Antient *Pagans* had declared to the Primitive Chriſtians, that the offering of ſome grains of Incenſe was only to perfume the room, or that the delivering up of their Bibles, was but for preſerving the Book more carefully. Do you think the Chriſtians would have palliated ſo far, and colluded

ded with their Conſciences? Men are too prone to err on that hand. In the laſt King's time, ſome eminent Perſons of our *Clergy* made an open defection to the Church of *Rome*. One, and he yet certainly a Proteſtant, and that hath deſerved well of that cauſe, writ the Book of *Seven Sacraments*. One in the Church at preſent, though certainly no leſs a Proteſtant, could not abſtain from arguing the *Holineſs of Lent*: Doctor *Thorndike* lately dead, left for his Epitaph, *Hic jacet corpus Herberti Thorndike Præbendarij hujus Eccleſiæ qui vivus veram Reformatæ Eccleſiæ rationem & modum precibus ſtudiiſq; proſequibatur*, and nevertheleſs he adds, *Tu Lector requiem ei & beatam in Chriſto reſurrectionem precare*. Which thing I do thus ſparingly ſet down, only to ſhew the danger of inventive piety; and if Men come once to add new devices to the Scripture, how eaſily they ſlide on into Superſtition. Therefore, although the Church do conſider her ſelf ſo much as not to alter her Mode unto the fancy of others, yet I cannot

not ſee why ſhe ought to exclude thoſe from Communion, whoſe weaker conſciences cannot for fear of ſcandal ſtep further. For the Non-conformiſts, as to theſe Declarations of our Church againſt the Reverence to the Creatures of Bread and Wine, and concerning the other Ceremonies as before, will be ready to think they have as good a plea as that ſo much commended by our Author againſt the clauſe, *that whoſoever ſhould affirm the Wedneſday Faſt to be impoſed with an intention to bind the Conſcience*, ſhould be puniſhed *like the ſpreaders of falſe news*; which is, ſaith *a Learned Pelate plainly to them that underſtand it, to evacuate the whole Law. For all humane power being derived from God, and bound upon our Conſciences by his power, not by Man, he that ſaith it ſhall not bind the Conſcience, ſaith it ſhall be no Law, it ſhall have no authority from God, and then it hath none at all; and if it be not tyed upon the Conſcience, then to break it is no ſin, and then to keep it is no duty. So that a Law without ſuch an intention is a contradicti-*

on. It is a Law only which binds if we pleaſe, and we may obey when we have a mind to it, and to ſo much we are tyed before the Conſtitution. But then if by ſuch a Declaration it was meant, that to keep ſuch Faſting-days was no part of a direct Commandment from God, that is, God had not required them by himſelf immediately, & ſo it was abſtracting from that Law no duty Evangelical, it had been below the wiſdom of the Contrivers of it, for no man pretends it, no man ſaith it, no man thinks it, and they might as well have declared that that Law was none of the ten Commandments, p. 59. of his firſt Book. So much pains does that learned Prelate of his take (who ever he was) to prove a whole Parliament of *England* Coxcombs. Now I ſay that thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Laws, with ſuch Declarations concerning the Ceremonies by them injoyned, might, *mutatis mutandis*, be taxed upon the ſame *Topick*. But I love not that task, and ſhall rather leave it to Mr. *Bayes* to paraphraſe his learned Prelate. For he is very good at correcting the impertinence of Laws and

Law-

Lawgivers: and though this work indeed be not for his turn at preſent, yet it may be for the future. And I have heard a good Engineer ſay, That he never fortified any place ſo, but that he reſerved a feeble point, by which he knew how to take it, if there were occaſion.

I know a medicine for Mr. *Bayes* his Hiccough (it is but naming *J. O.*) but I cannot tell certainly, though I have a ſhrew'd gueſs what is the cauſe of it. For indeed all his Arguments here are ſo abrupt and ſhort, that I cannot liken them better, conſidering too that frequent and perpetual repetition. Such as this, *Why may not the Soveraign Power beſtow this Priviledge upon Ceremony, as well as Uſe and Cuſtom, by virtue of its prerogative? What greater Immortality is there in them when determined by the Command and Inſtitution of the Prince, than when by the conſent and inſtitution of the people?* This the Tap-laſh of what he ſaid, p. 110. "When the Civil Ma-
"giſtrate takes upon him to determine
"any particular Forms of outward

" Worſhip, 'tis of no worſe Conſe-
" quence than if he ſhould go about to
" define the ſignification of all words
" uſed in the Worſhip of God. And p.
108. of his firſt Book. " So that
" all the Magiſtrates power of inſtitu-
" ting ſignificant Ceremonies, &c. can
" be no more Uſurpation upon the
" CONSCIENCES of Men,
" than if the Sovereign Authority
" ſhould take upon it ſelf, as ſome
" Princes have done, to define the ſig-
" nification of words. And after-
wards: " The ſame geſture, and
" actions are indifferently capable of
" ſignifying either honour or contume-
" ly: and ſo words; and therefore 'tis
" neceſſary their ſignification ſhould be
" determined, &c. 'Tis all very well
worth reading. P. 441. of his Second
Book. " 'Tis no other uſurpation
" upon their Subjects Conſciences than
" if he ſhould take upon him to refine
" their Language, and determine the
" proper ſignification of all phraſes im-
" ployed in Divine Worſhip, as well as
" in Trades, Arts and Sciences. P. 1461.

of

of the ſame; "Once we will ſo far "gratify the tenderneſs of their Con- "ſciences and curioſity of their Fan- "cies, as to promiſe never to aſcribe "any other ſignificancy to things than "what himſelf is here content to be- "ſtow upon words. And 462. of the ſame. "So that you ſee, my Com- "pariſon between the ſignification of "Words and Ceremonies ſtands firm "as the Pillars of the Earth, and the "Foundations of our Faith. Mr. *Bayes* might, I ſee, have ſpared Sir *Salomon's* Sword of the Divine Inſtitution of the Sacraments. Here is the terribleſt weapon in all his Armory; and therefore I perceive, reſerved by our Duelliſt for the laſt onſet. And, I who am a great well-wiſher to the Pillars of the Earth, or the eight Elephants, leſt we ſhould have an Earth-quake; and much more a Servant to the King's Prerogative, leſt we ſhould all fall into confuſion; and perfectly devoted to the Foundations of our Faith, leſt we ſhould run out into Popery or Paganiſm; have no heart to this incounter: leſt if I ſhould

prove that the Magiſtrates abſolute unlimited and uncontrolable Power doth not extend to define the ſignification of all words, I ſhould thereby not only be the occaſion of all thoſe miſchiefs mentioned, but, which is of far more diſmal Importance, the loſs of two or three ſo ſignificant Ceremonies. But though I therefore will not diſpute againſt that Flower of the Princes Crown, yet, I hope that without doing much harm, I may obſerve that for the moſt part they left it to the People, and ſeldom themſelves exerciſed it. And even *Auguſtus Cæſar*, though he was ſo great an Emperour, and ſo valiant a man in his own perſon, was uſed to fly from a new word though it were ſingle, as ſtudiouſly as a Mariner would avoid a Rock for fear of ſplitting. The difference of one Syllable in the ſame word hath made as conſiderable a Controverſy as moſt have been in the Church, betwixt the *Homouſians* and the *Homoiouſians*. One letter in the name of Beans in *Languedoc*, one party calling them *Faves*, and the other *Haves*;

as

as the tranſpoſition only of a letter a another time in the name of a Goat, by ſome call'd *Crabe*, and by others *Cabre*, was the loſs of more men's lives than the diſtinguiſhing but by an Aſpiration in *Shiboleth* upon the like occaſion. So that if a man would be learnedly impertinent, he might enlarge here to ſhow that 'tis as dangerous to take a man by the tongue, as a Bear by the tooth. And had I a mind to play the Politician, like Mr. *Bayes*, upon ſo pleaſant and copious a Subject, I would demonſtrate that though the impoſition of Ceremonies hath bred much miſchief in the world, yet (ſhall I not venture too on a word once for tryal) ſuch a Penetration or Tranſubſtantiation of Language would throw all into Rebellion and Anarchy, would ſhake the Crowns of all Princes, and reduce the World into a ſecond *Babel*. Therefore Mr. *Bayes* I doubt you were not well adviſed to make ſo cloſe an Analogy betwixt impoſing of ſignificant words and ſignificant Ceremonies: for I fear the Argument may be improved againſt

you, and that Princes finding that of words ſo impracticable, and of ill conſequence, will conclude that of Ceremonies to be no leſs pernicious. And the Nonconformiſts (who are great Traders, you know, in Scripture, and therefore thrown out of the Temple) will be certainly on your back. For they will appropriate your pregnant Text of *Let all things be done decently and in order*, to preaching or praying in an unknown Tongue, which ſuch an impoſition of words would be: and then, to keep you to your Similitude, they will ſay too that yours are all Latine Ceremonies, and the Congregation does not underſtand them. But were not this Dominion of words ſo dangerous, (for how many millions of men did it coſt your *Roman* Empire to attain it!) Yet it was very unmannerly in you to aſſign to Princes, who have enough beſide, ſo mean a trouble. When you gave them leave to exerciſe the Prieſthood in perſon, that was ſomething to the purpoſe; That was both Honorable, and ſome-

thing

thing belongs to it that would have help'd to bear the charge. But this Mint of words will never quit coſt, nor pay for the coynage. This is ſuch a drudgery; that, rather than undergo it, I dare ſay, there is no Prince but would reſign to you ſo Pedantical a Soveraignty. I cannot but think how full that Princes head muſt be of Proclamations. For, if he publiſhed but once a Proclamation to that purpoſe, he muſt forthwith ſet out another to ſtamp and declare the ſignification of all the words contained in it, and then another to appoint the meaning of all the words in this, and ſo on: that here is work cut out in one Paper of State for the whole Privy Council, both Secretaries of State, and all the Clerks of the Council, for one Kings Reign, and *in infinitum*. But, I cannot but wonder, knowing how ambitious Mr. *Bayes* is of the power over words, and jealous of his own Prerogative of refining Language, how he came to be ſo liberal of it to the Prince: Why, the ſame thing that induced him to give the Prince a

power

power antecedent and independent to *Chriſt*, and to eſtabliſh what Religion he pleaſed, &c. Nothing but his ſpight againſt the Non-conformiſts. I know not that thing in the world, except a Jeſt, that he would not part with to be ſatisfied in that particular. He hoped doubtleſs by holding up this Maxim, to obtain that the words of the Declaration of the 15th *March* ſhould be underſtood by contraries. You may well think he expected no leſs an equivalent, he would never elſe have permitted the Prince even to define the ſignification of all words uſed in the Worſhip of God, and to determine the proper ſignification of all Phraſes imploy'd in Divine Worſhip. Nay Mr. *Bayes*, if it be come to that, and you will ſurrender your Liturgy to the Prince, I know not what you mean; for 'tis bound up with your Bible. Was it ever heard that that Book ſo ſacred, and in which there could not one errour be found by all the *Presbyterians* at the *Worſter-Houſe*-Conference, ſhould, upon ſo uncertain a proſpect,

be

be now abandon'd ſo far, as that every word and Phraſe in it may receive a new and contrary ſignification! But the King for ought I ſee likes it well enough as it is (and therefore I do ſo too). Yet in caſe His Majeſty ſhould ever think fit to reform it, and becauſe ſuch kind of work is uſually referr'd back to ſome of the Clergy; I would gladly put in a *Caveat*, that our Author may in no caſe be one of them. For 'tis known that Mr. *Bays* is ſubject to a diſtemper; and who knows but when he is in a fit, as he made ſuch mad alterations of the fruit of the Spirit in the Epiſtle for the day, he may as well inſert in ſome other part of the *Service*, *Wellfare poor Macedo for a modeſt Fool*; and then, *Oh how I hug thee, Dear Heart, for this!* and pretend that the Supreme Magiſtrate ſhould ſtamp upon it a ſignification ſacred and ſerious. I would not have ſpoken ſo ſeverely of him, but that his *more laboured periods*, as he calls them, are ſo often fill'd with much bolder and more unwholeſome tranſlations. But however that he may not

at

at his better intervals be wholly unemployed in the work of Uniformity, I ſhould recommend to him rather to turn the *Liturgy* and the *Rationale* into the Univerſal Language, and ſo in time the whole World might come to be of his Pariſh.

When he was drawn thus low, did not he, think you, ſtand need of tilting? He had done much more ſervice to the Cauſe, had he laid by all thoſe cheating Argumentations, and dealt candidly, like the good Arch Deacon not long ſince dead; who went about both Court and Countrey, preacing upon the *Cloke left at Troas, and the Books, but eſpecially the Parchments.* The honeſt Man had found out there the whole Liturgy, the Canonical Habits, and all the Equipage of a Conformiſt. This was ſomething to the matter in hand, to produce Apoſtolical Example and Authority: And much more to the purpoſe than that beaten Text of *doing all things decently and in order.*

One Argument I confeſs remains ſtill behind, and that will juſtifie any thing.

thing. 'Tis that which I call'd lately *Rationem ultimam Cleri*; Force, Law, Execution, or what you will have it. I would not be miſtaken, as though I hereby meant the body of the *Engliſh* Clergy, who have been ever ſince the Reformation (I ſay it without diſparagement to the Foraign Churches) of the Eminenteſt for Divinity and Piety in all Chriſtendom. And as far am I from cenſuring, under this title, the Biſhops of *England*, for whoſe Function, their Learning, their Perſons I have too deep a veneration to ſpeak any thing of them irreverently. But thoſe that I intend only, are a particular bran of perſons, who will in ſpight of Fate be accounted the Church of *England*, and to ſhew they are Pluraliſts, never write in a modeſter Stile than *We*, *We*; nay, even theſe, ſeveral of them, are Men of parts ſufficient to deſerve a Rank among the Teachers and Governors of the Church. Only what Biſhop *Bramhal* ſaith of *Grotius* his defect in School Divinity;

Unum

Unum hoc maceror & doleo tibi deeſſe.

I may apply to their exceſs and rigour in matter of Diſcipline. They want all conſideration, all moderation in thoſe things; and I never heard of any of them at any time, who, if they got into Power or Office, did ever make the leaſt experiment or overture towards the peace of the Church and Nation they lived in. They are the *Politick Would-be's* of the Clergy. Not Biſhops, but Men that have a mind to be Biſhops, and that will do any thing in the World to compaſs it. And, though Princes have always a particular mark upon theſe Men, and value them no more than they deſerve, yet I know not very well, or perhaps I do know, how it oftentimes happens that they come to be advanced. They are Men of a fiery nature that muſt always be uppermoſt, and ſo they may increaſe their own Splendor, care not though they ſet all on flame about them. You would think the ſame day that they took

took up Divinity they diveſted themſelves of Humanity, & ſo they may procure & execute a Law againſt the Nonconforminſts, that they had forgot the Goſpel. They cannot endure that Humility, that Meekneſs, that ſtrictneſs of Manners and Converſation, which is the true way of gaining Reputation and Authority to the Clergy; much leſs can they content themſelves with the ordinary and comfortable proviſion that is made for the Miniſtry: But, having wholly calculated themſelves for Preferment, and Grandeur, know or practiſe no other means to make themſelves venerable but by Ceremony and Severity. Whereas the higheſt advantage of promotion is the opportunity of condeſcention, and the greateſt dignity in our Church can but raiſe them to the Title of *Your Grace*, which is in the Latine *Veſtra Clementia*. But of all theſe, none are ſo eager & virulent, as ſome, who having had relation to the late times, have got acceſs to *Eccleſiaſtical Fortune*, and are reſolved to make their beſt of her. For ſo,

of

of all Beasts, none are so fierce and cruel as those that have been taught once by hunger to prey upon their own kind; as of all Men, none are so inhumane as the *Canibals*. But whether this be the true way of ingratiating themselves with a generous and discerning Prince, I meddle not; nor whether it be an ingenuous practice towards those whom they have been formerly acquainted with: but whatsoever they think themselves obliged to for the approving of their new Loyalty; I rather commend. That which astonishes me, and only raises my indignation is, that of all sorts of Men, this kind of Clergy should always be, and have been for the most precipitate, bruitish, and sanguinary Counsels. The former Civil War cannot make them wise, nor his Majesties Happy Return, good natured; but they are still for running things up unto the same extreams. The softnes of the Universities where they have been bred, the gentleness of Christianity in which they have been nurtured, hath

but

but exaſperated their nature; and they ſeem to have contracted no *Idea* of wiſdom, but what they learnt at School, the Pedantry of Whipping. They take themſelves qualified to Preach the Goſpel, and no leſs to intermeddle in affairs of State: Though the reach of their Divinity is but to perſecution, and an Inquiſition is the height of their Policy.

And you Mr. *Bayes*, had you lived in the days of *Aguſtus Cæſar* (be not ſcandalized, for why may you not bring ſixteen hundred years, as well as five hours into one of your Playes) would not you have made, think you, an excellent Privy Counſellour? His Father too was murdered. Or (to come nearer both to our times, and your reſemblance of the late War, which you trumpet always in the Ear of his Majeſty) had you happen'd in the time of *Henry* the *fourth* of *France*, ſhould not you have done well in the Cabinet? His Predeceſſor too was aſſaſſinated. No, Mr. *Bayes*, you would not have been for their purpoſe: They took o-

ther meaſures of Government, and accordingly it ſucceeded with them. And His Majeſty, whoſe Genius hath much of both thoſe Princes, and who derives half of the Blood in his Veins from the latter, will in all probability not be ſo forward to hearken to your advice as to follow their Example. For theſe Kings, Mr. *Bayes*, how negligent ſoever or ignorant you take 'em to be, have I doubt, a ſhrewd underſtanding with them. 'Tis a Trade, that God be thanked, neither you nor I are of, and therefore we are not ſo competent Judges of their Actions. I my ſelf have often times ſeen them, ſome of them, do ſtrange things, and unreaſonable in my opinion, & yet a little while, or ſometimes many years after, I have found that all the men in the world could not have contrived any thing better: 'Tis not with them as with you: You have but one Cure of Souls, or perhaps two, as being a Noblemans Chaplain, to look after: And if you make Conſcience of diſcharging them as you ought, you

would find you had work ſufficient, without writing your *Eccleſiaſtical Policies*. But they are the Incumbents of whole Kingdoms, and the Rectorſhip of the Common people, the Nobility, and even of the Clergy, whom you are prone to *affirm when poſſeſt with principls that incline to rebellion and diſloyal practiſes, to be of all Rebels the moſt dangerous*, *p.* 49. the care I ſay of all theſe, reſts upon them. So that they are fain to condeſcend to many things for peace-ſake, and the quiet of Mankind, that your proud heart would break before it would bend to. They do not think fit to require any thing that is impoſſible, unneceſſary, or wanton, of their people; but are fain to conſider the very temper of the Climate in which they live, the Conſtitution and Laws under which they have been formerly bred, and upon all occaſions to give them good words, and humour them like Children. They reflect upon the Hiſtories of former times, and the preſent Tranſactions to regulate themſelves by in every cir-

cumſtance. They have heard that one of your *Roman* Emperours, when his Captain of the Life-Guard came for the Word, by giving it unhandſomely, received a Dagger. They obſerve how the Parliament of *Poland* will be their Kings Taylor, and among other reaſons, becauſe he would not wear their Mode, have ſuffer'd the *Turk* to enter, as coming nearer their Faſhion. Nay, that even *Alexander* the *Great* had almoſt loſt all he had conquered by forcing his Subjects to conform to the *Perſian* habit. That the King of *Spain*, when upon a Progreſs he enters *Biſcai*, is pleaſed to ride with one Leg naked, and above all to take care that there be not any Biſhop in his Retinue. So their poeple will pay their Taxes in good Gold and Silver, they demand no Subſidy of ſo many buſhel of Fleas, leſt they ſhould receive the ſame anſwer with the Tyrant, that the Subject could not furniſh that quantity, and beſides they would be leaping out ſtill before they could be meaſured, and ſhould they fine the people for non-payment,

payment, they reckon there would be little got by diſtraining. They have been told that a cerain Queen being deſired to give a Town-Seal to one of her Cities, lighting from Horſe, ſate down naked on the Snow, and left them that Impreſſion, and though it cauſed no diſturbance, but all the Town-Leaſes are Letters-Pattents; Kings do not approve the Example. That the late Queen of *Sweden* did her ſelf no good with ſaying, *Io non voglio governar le Beſtie*, but afterwards reſigned. That the occaſion of the revolt of *Swizzerland* from the Emperour and its turning Commonwealth, was only the impoſing of a Civil Ceremony by a Capricious Governour, who ſet up a Pole in the high-way with a Cap upon the top of it, to which he would have all Paſſengers be uncover'd, and do obeyſance. One ſturdy *Swiſs*, that would not conform, thereupon overturn'd the Government, as 'tis at large in Hiſtory. That the King of *Spain* loſt *Flanders* chiefly upon introducing the Inquiſition. And you

now Mr. *Bayes* will think theſe, and an hundred more that I could tell you, but idle ſtories, and yet Kings can tell how to make uſe of 'm. And hence 'tis that in ſtead of aſſuming your unhoopable juriſdiction, they are ſo ſatisfied with the abundance of their power, that they rather think meet to abate of its exerciſe by their diſcretion. The greater their fortune is, they are content to uſe the leſs extravagancy. But becauſe I ſee, Mr. *Bayes*, you are a little deaf on this ear, I will talk ſomewhat cloſer to you. In this very matter of Ceremonies, which you are ſo bent upon, that your mind is alwayes running on't when you ſhould be hearkning to the Sermon; do not you think that the King knows every word you ſaid, although he never gave your Book the reading? That you ſay, that the Clauſe 5° *Eliz.* of the *Wedneſday*-Faſt has been the original of all the Puritan-Diſorders. That the Controverſy is now reduced onely to two or three Symbolical Ceremonies. That theſe Ceremonies are things indifferent in their own nature,

and

and have no antecedent neceſſity, but onely bind as they are commanded. That they ſignify nothing in themſelves but what the Commander pleaſes. That the Church it ſelf declares that there is nothing of Religion or adoration in them. That they are no parts of Religious Worſhip. That they are onely Circumſtances. That the impoſing of a ſignificant Ceremony, is no more than to impoſe ſignificancy upon a word. That there is not a word of any of theſe Ceremonies in the Scriptures. That they are in themſelves of no great moment and conſequence, but 'tis abſolutely neceſſary that Government ſhould injoyn them, to avoid the evil that would follow if they were not determined: and that there cannot be a Pin pull'd out of the Church, but the State immediately totters. Do not you think that the King has conſidered all theſe things? I believe he has; and perhaps, as you have minced the matter, he may well think the Nonconformiſts have very nice Stomachs, that they cannot digeſt ſuch chopp'd hay:

But on the other ſide, he muſt needs take you to be very ſtrange men, to cram theſe in ſpite down the throats of any Chriſtian. If a man have an Antipathy againſt any thing, the Company is generally ſo civil, as to refrain the uſe of it, however not to preſs it upon the perſon. If a man be ſick or weak the Pope grants a Diſpenſation from *Lent*, or Faſting dayes: ay, and from many a thing that ſtrikes deeper in his Religion. If one have got a cold, their betters will force them to be covered. There is no end of Similitudes: but I am led into them by your calling theſe Ceremonies Pins of the Church. It would almoſt tempt a Prince that is curious, and that is ſetled (God be praiſed) pretty faſt in his Throne, to try for experiment, whether the pulling out of one of theſe Pins would make the State totter. But, Mr. *Bayes*, there is more in it. 'Tis matter of Conſcience: and if Kings do, out of diſcretion, connive at the other infirmities of their People; If great perſons do out of civility condeſcend to their inferiours; and if all

men

men out of common humanity do yield to the weaker; Will your Clergy only be the men, who, in an affair of Conſcience, and where perhaps 'tis you are in the wrong, be the onely hard-hearted and inflexible Tyrants; and not only ſo, but inſtigate and provoke Princes to be the miniſters of your cruelty? But, I ſay, Princes, as far as I can take the height of things ſo far above me, muſt needs have other thoughts, and are paſt ſuch boyes-play to ſtake their Crowns againſt your Pins. They do not think fit to command things unneceſſary, and where the profit cannot countervail the hazard. But above all they conſider, that God has inſtated them in the Government of Mankind, with that incumbrance (if it may ſo be called) of Reaſon, and that incumbrance upon Reaſon of Conſcience. That he might have given them as large an extent of ground and other kind of cattle for their Subjects: but it had been a melancholy Empire to have been only Supreme Graſiers and Soveraign Shepherds. And therefore, though the lazineſs

zineſs of that brutal magiſtracy might have been more ſecure, yet the difficulty of this does make it more honourable. That men therefore are to be dealt with reaſonably: and conſcientious men by Conſcience. That even Law is force, and the execution of that Law a greater Violence; and therefore with rational creatures not to be uſed but upon the utmoſt extremity. That the Body is in the power of the mind; ſo that corporal puniſhments do never reach the offender, but the innocent ſuffers for the guilty. That the Mind is in the hand of God, and cannot correct thoſe perſwaſions which upon the beſt of its natural capacity it hath collected: So that it too, though erroneous, is ſo farr innocent. That the Prince therefore, by how much God hath indued him with a clearer reaſon, and by conſeqnence with a more enlightned judgment, ought the rather to take heed leſt by puniſhing Conſcience, he violate not only his own, but the Divine Majeſty. But as to that Mr. *Bayes*, which you ſtill inculcate

of

of the late War, and its horrid Cataſtrophe, which you will needs have to be upon a religious account: 'Tis four and twenty years ago, and after an *Act of Oblivion*; and for ought I can ſee, it had been as ſeaſonable to have ſhown *Cæſars* bloody Coat, or *Thomas a Beckets* bloody Rochet. The chief of the offenders have long ſince made ſatisfaction to Juſtice; and the whole Nation hath been ſwept ſufficiently of late years by thoſe terrible ſcourges of Heaven: So that methinks you might in all this while have ſatiated your miſchievous appetite. Whatſoever you ſuffered in thoſe times, his Majeſty who had much the greater loſs, knowing that the memory of his Glorious Father will always be preſerved, is the beſt Judge how long the revenge ought to be purſued. But if indeed out of your ſuperlative care of his Maieſty and your *Living*, you are afraid of ſome new diſturbance of the ſame nature, let me ſo far ſatisfie you as I am ſatisfied. The Nonconformiſts ſay that they are bound in Con-

† Conſcience to act as far as they can, and for the reſt to ſuffer to the utmoſt. But becauſe though they do mean honeſtly, 'tis ſo hard a Chapter for one that thinks himſelf in the right to ſuffer extremities patiently, that ſome think it impoſſible; I ſay next, that it's very ſeldom ſeen that in the ſame age, a Civil War, after ſuch an interval, has been raiſ'd again upon the ſame pretences: But Men are alſo weary, that he would be knock'd on the head that ſhould raiſe the firſt diſturbance of the ſame nature. A new War muſt have, like a Book that would ſell, a new Title. I am aſham'd Mr. *Bayes* that you put me on talking thus impertinently (for Policy in us is ſo). Therefore to be ſhort, the King hath ſo indulged and obliged the Non-conformiſts by his late mercy, that if there were any ſuch Knave, there can be no ſuch Fool among them, that would ever lift up an ill thought againſt him. And for you Mr. *Bayes* he is aſſured of your Loyalty, ſo that I think you may enjoy your *Living* very peaceably, which

which I know is all your buſineſs. 'Twas well replyed of the *Engliſh* man in *Edward* the *fourths* time, to the *French* man that ask'd him inſulting, When they ſhould ſee us there again? *When your ſins are greater than ours.* There are as many occaſions of War, as there are Vices in a Nation: And therefore it concerns a Prince to be watchful on all hands. But ſhould Kings remember an injury as long as you implacable Divines do, or ſhould we take up Arms upon your Becks, becauſe your Eccleſiaſtical Policy is anſwered, to revenge your quarrel, the World would never be at quiet. Therefore Mr. *Bayes* let all thoſe things of former times alone, and mind your own buſineſs; for Kings, believe me, as they have Royal underſtandings, ſo have Gentlemens memories.

And now Mr. *Bayes* I think it is time to take my leave, having troubled you with ſo long a viſit. Only before I quit this matter, becauſe I do not love to be accounted ſingular in my opinion, I will add the judgment of one Author,

Author, and that as pertinent as I could pick out to our purpoſe. I have obſerved that not only other Princes, but Queen *Elizabeth* too hath the miſfortune to be much out of your favour. But for what reaſon I cannot poſſibly imagine; for none ever deſerved better as to the thing of Uniformity, unleſs it be the ill luck ſhe had to paſs that *impertinent Clauſe* in the Act 5° *Eliz.* of the *Jejunium Cecilianum.* You cannot, for her ſake, indure the Wit or Learning of her times, but ſay, p. 94. of your ſecond Book, *Though this trifling Artifice of ſprinkling little fragments of Wit and Poetry might have paſſed for Wit and Learning in the days of* Queen Elizabeth, *yet to men of Learning, Reading and Ingenuity, their vulgar uſe has ſullied their luſtre, and abated their value.* This is indeed, Mr. *Bayes*, a very labour'd period, and prepared by you, I believe, on purpoſe as a model of the Wit and Eloquence of your days. But not only ſo; but p. 483. of the ſame Book, I think you call her in deriſion and moſt ſpightfully and unmannerly, plain

Old

Old Elſibeth. And thoſe that knew her humour, think you could not have diſobliged her more than in ſtiling her ſo; both as a Woman, which Sex never love to be thought old, and as a Queen, who was jealous leſt Men ſhould therefore talk of the ſucceſſion. Beſides the irreverent nick-name you give her, that you might as well have preſumed to call her *Queen Beſs*, or *Bold Bettrice*. Now to the end that that Queen of famous Memory may have a little female revenge upon you, & to give you a taſt of the Wit and Learning even of her times; I will *ſprinkle* here one *Fragment*, which not being a *Scholar-like ſaying of antient Poet or Philoſopher*, but of a Reverend Divine, I hope, Mr. *Bayes*, may be leſs diſpleaſing to you. The Man is *Parker*, not *Robert Parker*, who writ another Treatiſe of Eccleſiaſtical Policy, and the Book *de Cruce*, for which if they had catch'd him, he had poſſibly gone to the Gallows, or at leaſt the Gallyes. For he was one of thoſe well-meaning Zealots, that are of all Villains the

moſt

moſt dangerous. But it is the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Parker* (For if I named him before without addition, 'twas what I learnt of you ſpeaking of *Whitgift*) He in his Book *de Antiquitatibus Eccleſiæ Britannicæ*, p. 47. ſpeaking of the ſlaughter of the Monks of *Bangor*, and ſo many Chriſtians more, upon the inſtigation of *Auſtin* the Monk, who ſtirred up *Ethilbert* King of *Kent* againſt them, becauſe they would not receive the Romiſh Ceremonies; uſeth theſe words, *Et ſanè illa prima de Romanis Ritibus inducendis per Auguſtinum tunc excitata contentio, quæ non niſi clade & ſanguine innocentium Britannorum poterat extingui; ad noſtra recentiora tempora, cum ſimili pernicie cædeque Chriſtianorum pervenit. Cum enim illis glorioſis ceremoniis à purâ Primitivæ Eccleſiæ ſimplicitate receſſerunt, non de vitæ ſanctitate, de Evangelij prædicatione, de ſpiritus ſancti vi & conſolatione multum laborabāt; ſed novas indies altercationes de novis ritibus per Papas ſingulos additis, qui neminem tam excelſo gradu dignum qui aliquid,*

aliquid, ceremonioſi non dicam, monſtroſi inauditi & inuſitati non adjeciſſet; inſtituebant. Suggeſtaque & ſcholas fabulis rixiſque ſuis implebant. Nam prima Eccleſiæ ſpecies ſimplicior & integro & interno Dei cultu, ab ipſo Verbo *præſcripto, nec veſtibus ſplendidis, nec magnificis ſtructuris decorata, nec auro, argento, gemmiſque fulgens fuit: Etſi liceat his exterioribus uti modo animum ab illo interiori & integro Dei cultu non abducant; Curioſis & moroſis ritibus ab illâ primævâ & rectâ ſimplicitate Evangelicâ degeneravit. Illa autem in Romanâ Eccleſiâ rituum multitudo ad immenſum illius magni Auguſtini Hipponenſis Epiſcopi temporibus creverat: ut queſtus ſit Chriſtianorum in Ceremoniis & ritibus durioremtunc fuiſſe conditionem quàm Judæorum, qui etiamſi tempus Libertatis non agnoverint, Legalibus tamen ſarcinis non humanis præſumptionibus ſubjicieb intur; nam paucioribus in divino cultu quàm Chriſtiani Ceremoniis utebantur. Qui ſi ſenſiſſet quantus deinde per ſingulos Papas coacervatus cumulus acceſſit, nodum Chriſtianum credo ipſe ſtatuiſſet; qui hoc malum*

tunc in Eccleſiâ viderat. Videmus enim ab illâ ceremoniarum contentione nedum Eccleſiam eſſe vacuam; quin homines alioquin docti atque pii de veſtibus & hujuſmodi nugis ad huc, rixoſo magis & militari, quàm aut philoſophico aut Chriſtiano more inter ſe digladiantur. Theſe words do run ſo direct againſt the Genius of ſome men that contributed not a little to the late Rebellion, and, though ſo long ſince writ, do ſo exactly deſcribe that evil ſpirit with which ſome men are even in theſe times poſſeſt, who ſeem deſirous upon the ſame grounds to put all things in combuſtion, that I think them very well worth the labour of tranſlating. [And indeed, that firſt contention then raiſed by *Auguſtine* about the introducing of the Romiſh Ceremonies, which could not be quenched but by the blood & ſlaughter of the innocent *Britains*; hath been continued e'n to our later times, with the like miſchief & murder of Chriſtians. For when once by thoſe glorious Ceremonies they forſook the pure ſimplicity of the Primitive Church, they did not much trou-

trouble themſelves about Holineſs of Life, the preaching of the Goſpel, the efficacy and comfort of the Holy Spirit: but they fell every day into new ſquabbles about new-fangled Ceremonies added by every Pope, who reckoned no man worthy of ſo high a degree but ſuch as invented ſomewhat, I will not ſay Ceremonious, but monſtrous, unheard of, and before unpractiſed; and they fill'd the Schools and the Pulpits with their Fables and brawling of ſuch matters. For the firſt beauty of the Church had more of ſimplicity and plainneſs; and was neither adorned with ſplendid veſtments, nor magnificent ſtructures, nor ſhin'd with gold, ſilver and precious ſtones; but with the intire and inward worſhip of God, as it was by Chriſt himſelf preſcribed. Although it may be lawful to uſe theſe external things, ſo they do not lead the mind aſtray from that more inward and intire Worſhip of God; by thoſe curious and crabbed Rites it degenerated from that antient and right Evangelical Simplicity. But that mul-

titude of Rites in the Romiſh Church had unmeaſurably increaſed in the times of that great *Auguſtine* the Biſhop of *Hippo*, in ſo much that he complained that the Condition of Chriſtians, as to Rites and Ceremonies, was then harder than that of the Jews; who although they did not diſcern the time of their Liberty, yet were onely ſubjected to Legal burthens, inſtituted firſt by God himſelf, not to humane Preſumptions. For they uſed fewer Ceremonies in the Worſhip of God than Chriſtians. Who, if he could have foreſeen how great a heap of them was afterwards piled up, and added by the ſeveral Popes, he himſelf doubtleſs would have reſtrained it within Chriſtian meaſure, having already perceived this growing evil in the Church. For we ſee, that even yet the Church is not free from that contention: but men, otherwiſe learned and pious, do ſtill cut and ſlaſh about Veſtments and ſuch kind of trifles, rather in a ſwaſh-buckler and Hectoring way, than either like Philoſophers or like Chriſtians.]

Now

Now Mr. *Bayes*, I doubt you muſt be put to the trouble of writing another Preface againſt this Arch-biſhop. For nothing in your Anſwerer's Treatiſe of *Evangelical Love* does ſo gird or aim at you, for ought I can ſee, or at thoſe whom you call the Church of *England*, as this Paſſage. But the laſt period does ſo plainly delineate you to the life, that what St. *Auſtine* did not preſage, the Biſhop ſeems to have foreſeen moſt diſtinctly. 'Tis juſt your way of writing all along in this matter. You bring nothing ſound or ſolid. Only you think you have got the *Great Secret*, or the *Philoſophers Stone* of Railing, and I believe it, you have ſo multiplied it in *Projection*: and as they into Gold, ſo you turn every thing you meet with into Railing. And yet the Secret is not great, nor the *Proceſs* long or difficult, if a man would ſtudy it, and make a trade on't. Every Scold hath it naturally. It is but crying Whore firſt, and having the laſt word, and whatſoever t'other ſayes, cry, Oh theſe are your Nonconfor-

miſt's tricks, Oh you have learnt this of the Puritans in *Grubſtreet*. Oh you white-aprond Goſſip. For indeed, I never ſaw ſo provident a fetch: you have taken in before hand all the Poſts of railing, and ſo beſet all the Topicks of juſt crimination, foreſeeing where you are feeble, that if this trick would paſs, it were impoſſible to open ones mouth to finde the leaſt fault with you. For in your firſt Chapter of your Second Book, beſide what you do alwaies in an hundred places when you are at a loſs, you have ſpent almoſt an hundred pages upon *a Character of the Fanatick deportment toward all Adverſaries*. And then on the other ſide, you have ſo ingroſſed and brought up all the ammunition of Railing, ſearch'd every corner in the Bible, and *Don Quixot* for Powder, that you thought, not unreaſonably, that there was not one ſhot left for a Fanatick. But truth, you ſee, cannot want words: and ſhe will laugh too ſometimes when ſhe ſpeaks, and rather than all fail too, be ſerious. But what will you ſay to that of the Archbiſhops

biſhops, *than either like Philoſophers or like Chriſtians* ? For the excellency of your Logick, Philoſophy and Chriſtianity in all your Books, is either, as in Conſcience, to take away the ſubject of the queſtion: or, as in the Magiſtrate, having gotten one abſurdity, to raiſe a thouſand more from it. So that, except the manufacture and labour of your periods, you have done no more than any School-boy could have done on the ſame terms. And ſo, Mr. *Bayes*, Good night.

And now Good-morrow, Mr. *Bayes*; For though it ſeems ſo little a time and that you are but now gone to bed, it hath been a whole live-long night, and you have toſſ'd up and down in many a troubleſom dream, and are but juſt now awaked at the Title page of your book: *A Preface ſhewing what grounds there are of fears and jealouſies of Popery.* It is ſomething artificially couch'd, but looks, as if it did allow, that there are ſome grounds of fears and jealouſies of that nature. But here he words it, *a Conſideration what likelihood, or how much*

danger there is of the the return of Popery into this Nation. Had he not come to this at laſt, I ſhould have thought I had been all this while reading a Chapter in *Mountagne's Eſſayes*; where you finde ſometimes ſcarce one word in the diſcourſe of the matter held forth in the Title. But now indeed he takes up this Argument and debates it to purpoſe. For I had before begun to ſhow that he had writ not only his two former Books, but eſpecially too this Preface, with an evil eye and aim at his Majeſty, and the meaſures he had taken of Government. And whoever will take the pains to read here, will ſoon be of my mind. His Majeſty had I ſaid, the 15*th* of *March* 1671. iſſued his Declaration of Indulgence to tender Conſciences. He, on the contrary, iſſues out thereupon, all in haſte and as faſt as he could write, this his Remonſtrance or Manifeſto againſt Indulgence to tender Conſciences: and to make his Majeſties proceedings more odious, ſtirs up this ſeditious matter, of what probability there is of Popery.

And

And this he diſcourſes, to be ſure, in his own imagination very cunningly. For he knows that there was an Act of Parliament in this Kings Reign with a greater penalty than that of 5° *Eliz.* of ſpreading falſe News, againſt reports of this nature. And therefore, he reſolves to handle it ſo warily, that he himſelf might eſcape, but might draw others that ſhould anſwer him, within the danger of that Act, and that he might lay the crime at their doors. But, notwithſtanding all his ſlights and *Legerdemain*, it doth enough detect his malice and ill intention to his Majeſties Government, that he ſhould take this occaſion, altogether foreign and unſeaſonable, to raiſe a publick and ſolemn diſcourſe through the whole Nation, concerning a matter the moſt odious and dangerous that could be expoſed. So that now, no man can look at the wall, no man can paſs by a Book-ſellers ſtall, but he muſt ſee *A Preface ſhowing what GROUNDS there are for* FEARS *and* JEALOUSIES *of POPERY*.

It had been ſomething a ſafer and more dutiful way of writing, A Preface ſhowing the CAUSELESNESS of the Fears and Jealouſies of POPERY. For I do not think it will excuſe a Witch, to ſay, That ſhe conjur'd up a Spirit only that ſhe might lay it: nor can there be a more dexterous and malicious way of calumny, than by making a needleſs Apology for another, in a criminal Subject. As; ſuppoſe I ſhould write a Preface ſhowing what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealouſies of *Bayes* his being an Atheiſt. But this is exactly our Authors method and way of contrivance; whereby, more effectually by far than by any flying Coffee-houſe tattle, he traduces the State, and by printing ſo pernicious a queſtion, fills all mens mouths, and beats out all mens eyes with the probability of the return of POPERY. Had he heard any that malignly and officiouſly talk'd to ſuch a purpoſe, it had been the part of one ſo prudent as he is, not to have continued the Diſcourſe. Had he (as he hath a great gift

gift that way) pick'd up out of any mans talk or writing, matter whereof to make an ill ſtory; there was a better and more regular way of proceeding, had he meant honeſtly to his Majeſties Government, to have prevented the evil, and to have brought the offender to puniſhment. He ſhould have gone to one of the Secretaries of State, or to ſome other of his Majeſties Privy Council, and have given them Information. But, in ſtead of that, I am afraid that in the ſurvey of this buſineſs, we ſhall find, that even ſome of them are either accuſed, or ſhrowdly mark'd out with a character of our Authors diſpleaſure. Therefore, I will now come nearer to his matter in hand, although it concerns me to be careful of coming too near, nor ſhall I dwell too long upon ſo jealous and impertinent a ſubject.

To conſider what likelihood or how much danger there is of the return of Popery into this Nation. The very firſt word is; *For my part, I know none.* Very well conſidered. Why then, Mr. *Bayes*, I

muſt

muſt tell you, that if I had printed a Book or Preface upon that Argument, I ſhould have thought my ſelf, at leaſt a Fool for my labour. The next conſiderer is mine Enemy; I mean he is an Enemy to the State, whoever ſhall foment ſuch diſcourſes without any likelyhood or danger. Yet, Mr. *Bayes*, you know, I have for a good while had no great opinion of your Integrity; neither here. I doubt you prevaricate a little with ſome body. For, I ſuppoſe you cannot be ignorant that ſome of your ſuperiours of your Robe did, upon the publiſhing that Declaration, give the Word, and deliver Orders, through their Eccleſiaſtical Camp, to beat up the Pulpit-drums againſt Popery. Nay, even ſo much that there was care taken too for arming the *poor Readers, that though they came ſhort of Preachers in point of efficacy, yet they might be inabled* to do ſomething *in point of* common *Security*. So that, though for ſo many years, thoſe your Superiours had forgot there was any ſuch thing in the Nation as a Popiſh Recuſant, though

Pole-

Polemical and *Controverſial Divinity* had for ſo long been hung up in the Halls, like the ruſty obſolete Armour of our Anceſtors, for monuments of Antiquity; and for deriſion rather than ſervice; all on a ſudden (as if the 15*th* of *March* had been the 5*th* of *November*) happy was he that could climb up firſt to get down one of the old Cuiraſſes, or an Habergeon that had been worn in the dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*. Great variety there was, and an heavy doo. Some clapp'd it on all ruſty as it was, others fell of oyling and furbiſhing their armour: Some piſſ'd in their Barrels, others ſpit in their pans, to ſcowr them. Here you might ſee one put on his Helmet the wrong way: there one buckle on a Back in place of a Breaſt. Some by miſtake catched up a Socinian or Arminian Argument, and ſome a Papiſt to fight a Papiſt. Here a Dwarf loſt in the accoutrements of a Giant: there a *Don-Quixot* in an equipage of differing pieces, and of ſeveral Pariſhes. Never was there ſuch Incongruity and Nonconformity in their fur-

furniture. One ran to borrow a Sword of *Calvin*. This man for a Musket from *Beza*: that for a Bandeleers even from *Keckerman*. But when they came to ſeek for Match, and Bullet, and Powder, there was none to be had. The Fanaticks had bought it all up, and made them pay for it moſt unconſcionably, and through the noſe. And no leſs ſport was it to ſee their Leaders. Few could tell how to give the word of Command, nor underſtood to drill a Company: They were as unexpert as their Soldiers aukward: and the whole was as pleaſant a ſpectacle, as the exercifing of the Train'd-bands in —*ſhire*. But Mr. *Bayes* (for I believe you do nothing but upon common advice) either this was all intended but for a falſe alarum, and was onely for a pretence to take arms againſt the Fanaticks (which you might have done without raiſing all this din and obloquy againſt the State, and diſquieting his Majeſties good Subjects): or elſe you did really think (and who can help miſapprehenſions?) that you did know ſome likelihood or danger

ger of the return of Popery. I crave you mercy Mr. *Bayes*, I took you a little ſhort. *For my part I know none*, you ſay, *but the Nonconformiſts boyſterous and unreaſonable oppoſition to the Church of England.*

This I confeſs hath ſome weight in it. For truly before *I knew none* too. I was of your Opinion Mr. *Bayes*, and believed that Popery could never return into *England* again, but by ſome very ſiniſter accident. This expreſſion of mine is ſomething uncouth, and therefore becauſe I love to give you ſatisfaction in all things, Mr. *Bayes*, I will acquaint you with my reaſon of uſing it. *Henry* the *fourth* of *France*, his Majeſties Grandfather, lived (you know) in the dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*. Now the wit of *France* and *England*, as you may have obſerved, is much of the ſame mode, and hath at all times gone much after the ſame current Rate and Standard; only there hath been ſome little difference in the alloy, and advantage or diſadvantage in the exchange according to mens occaſions. Now *Henry the fourth*, was (you know too)

too) a Prince like Biſhop *Bramhall*, *of a brave and enterpriſing temper, and had a mind large and active enough to have managed the Roman Empire at its utmoſt extent*; *and* particulary (*as far as the prejudice of the age* (*Old Elſibeths* Age) *would permit him*) he was very wittie and facetious, and the Courtiers ſtrove to humor him alwaies in it, and increaſe the mirth. So one night after ſupper he gave them a Subject (which recreation did well enough in thoſe times, but were now inſipid) upon which, like Boyes at *Weſtminſter*, they ſhould make a *French* Verſe extempore. The Subject was, *Un Accident ſiniſtre.* Straight anſwers, I know not whether 'twas *Baſſompierre* or *Obignè*:

Un ſiniſtre Accident & un Accident
ſiniſtre;
De veoir un Pere Capuchin chevaucher
un Miniſtre.

For when I ſaid, to ſee Popery return here, would be a very ſiniſter accident; I was juſt thinking upon that ſtory; the

the Verſes, to humour them in tranſlation, being only this,

O what a trick unlucky, and how unlucky a trick,
To ſee friend Doctor Patrick, beſtrid by Father Patrick!

Which ſeem'd to me would be the moſt improbable and prepoſterous ſpectacle that ever was ſeen; and more ridiculous for a ſight, than the *Frienly Debate is* for a Book. And yet if Popery come in, this muſt be and worſe.

But now I ſee there is ſome danger by the Nonconformiſts oppoſition to the Church of *England*. And now your buſineſs is all fixed. The Fanaticks are ready at hand to bear the blame of all things. Many a good job have I ſeen done in my time upon pretence of the Fanaticks. I do not think Mr. *Bayes* ever breaks his ſhins, but it is by ſtumbling upon a Fanatick. And how ſhall they bring in Popery? why thus, three wayes. *Firſt, By creating diſorders and diſturbances in*

the State. Secondly, By the assistance of Atheism and Irreligion. Thirdly, By joyning with crafty and Sacrilegious Statesmen in confederacy. Now here I remark two things. One, that however you do not find that the Fanaticks are inclinable to Popery, only they may accommodate it by creating disturbances in the State. Another is, that I see these Gentlemen, the Phanaticks, the Atheists, and the Sacrilegious Statesmen are not yet acquainted; but you have appointed them a meeting (I believe it must be at your Lodgings or no where;) and I hope you will treat them handsomly. But I think it was not so wisely done, nor very honestly, Mr. *Bayes*, to lay so dangerous a Plot as this; and instruct men that are strangers yet to one another, how to contrive together such a Conspiracy.

't first to your first.

The *Fanaticks you say may probably se disturbance in the State.* For they *so little friends to the present Government, that their enmity to that is one of the main grounds of their quarrel to the Church.*

But

But now, though I muſt confeſs it is very much to your purpoſe, if you could perſwade men ſo, I think you are clear out, and miſrepreſent here the whole matter. For I know of no enmity they have to the Church it ſelf, but what it was in her power always to have remedied, and ſo it is ſtill. But ſuch as you it is that have always ſtrove by your leaſings to keep up a ſtrangeneſs and miſunderſtanding betwixt the King and his people; and all the miſchief hath come on't does lye much at your door. Whereas they, as all the reſt of Man-kind, are men for their own ends too: And no ſooner hath the King ſhown them this late favour, but you Mr. *Bayes*, and your partners reproach them for being too much friends to the Prerogative. And no leſs would they be to the Church, had they ever at any age in any time found her in a treatable temper. I know nothing they demand, but what is ſo far from doing you any harm, that it would only make you better. But that indeed is the harm, that is the thing you are

afraid of. Here our Author divides the diſcourſe into a great Elogy of the Church of *England*; that if he were making her Funeral Sermon, he could not ſay more in her commendation; and a contrary invective againſt the Nonconformiſts, upon whom (as if all he had ſaid before had been nothing) he unloads his whole Leyſtall, and dreſſeth them up all in *Sambenitas*, painted with all the flames & Devils in hell, to be led to the place of Execution, & there burnt to aſhes. Nevertheleſs I find on either ſide only the natural effect of ſuch Hyperboles and Oratory, that is, not to be believed. The Church of *England* (I mean as it is by Law eſtabliſhed, leſt you ſhould think I equivocate) hath ſuch a ſtock of ſolid and deſerved reputation, that it is more than you (Mr. *Bayes*) can ſpoil or deface by all the Pedantry of your commendation. Only there is that partie of the Clergy, that I not long ago deſcribed, and who will alwaies preſume to be the only Church of *England*, who have been a perpetual Eye-ſore, that I may not

not ſay a Canker and Gangreen in ſo perfect a beauty. And, as it joyes my heart to hear any thing well ſaid of her; ſo, I muſt confeſs, it ſtirs my choler, when I hear thoſe men pride and boaſt themſelves under the Mask of her Authority. Neither did I therefore approve of an expreſſion you here uſe: *The Power of Princes would be a very precarious thing without the aſſiſtance of Eccleſiaſticks, and all Government do's & muſt ow its quiet and continuance to the Churches Patronage.* That is as much as to ſay, That but for the aſſiſtance of your *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*, Princes might go a begging: and that the Church, that is you, have the *Jus patronatus* of the Kingdom, and may preſent whom you think fitting to the Crown of *England*. This is indeed ſomething like the return of Popery; and right

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rudolpho.

The Crown were ſurely well held up, if it were to be held at your conveni-

ence, and the Emperour muſt lead the Patriarchs Aſs all his life-time. And little better do I like your *We may reſt ſatisfied in the preſent Security of the Church of* England, *under the Protection of a wiſe and gracious Prince: eſpecially when beſides the impregnable confidence that we have from his own Inclination, it is ſo manifeſt, that he never can forſake it either in Honour or Intereſt.* This is a prety way of cokeſing indeed, while you are all this while cutting the graſs under his feet, and animating the people againſt the exerciſe of his Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy. Men are not ſo plain-hearted, but they can ſee through this oblique Rhetorication and Sophiſtry. If there be no danger in his time of taking a *Pin out of the Church* (for that it is you intend) why do you then ſpeak of it in his time, but that you mean miſchief? but here you do not only mow the graſs under his feet, but you take the pillow from under his head. *But ſhould it ever happen that any King of* England *ſhould be prevail'd with to deliver up the Church, he had as good*

good at the ſame time reſign up his Crown. This is prety plain dealing, and you have doubtleſs ſecur'd hereby that Princes Favour: I ſhould have thought it better Courtſhip in a Divine, to have ſaid, O King, Live for ever. But I ſee Mr. *Bayes*, that you and your Partners are very neceſſary men, and it were dangerous diſobliging you. But as in this imprudent and nauſeous diſcourſe, you have all along appropriated or impropriated all the Loyalty from the Nobility, the Gentry and the Commonalty, and dedicated it to the Church; So, I doubt, you are a little too immoderate againſt the body of the Nonconformiſts. You repreſent them, to a man, to be all of them of Republican Principles, moſt peſtilent, and, *eo nomine*, enemies to Monarchy; Traytors and Rebells; ſuch miſcreants as never was in the world before, and fit to be pack'd out of it with the firſt Convenience. And, I obſerve, that all the Argument of your Books is but very frivolous and trivial: onely the memory of the late War ſerves for de-

monſtration, and the deteſtable ſentence & execution, of his late Majeſty is repreſented again upon the Scaffold; and you having been, I ſuſpect, better acquainted with Parliament Declarations formerly upon another account, do now apply and turn them all over to prove that the late War was wholly upon a Fanatical Cauſe, and the diſſenting party do ſtill goe big with the ſame Monſter. I grew hereupon much diſpleaſed with my own ignorance of the occaſion of thoſe Troubles ſo near our own times, and betook my ſelf to get the beſt Information concerning them, to the end that I might, if it appear'd ſo, decline the dangerous acquaintance of the Nonconformiſts, ſome of whom I had taken for honeſt men, nor therefore avoided their Company. But I took care nevertheleſs, not to receive Impreſſions from any of their party; but to gather my lights from the moſt impartial Authorities that I could meet with. And I think I am now partly prepared to give you, Mr. *Bayes*, ſome better ſatisfaction in this mat-

matter. And becauſe you are a dangerous perſon, I ſhall as little as poſſible, ſay any thing of my own, but ſpeak too before good Witneſſes. Firſt of all therefore, I will without farther Ceremony, fall upon you with the but-end of another Arch-biſhop. 'Tis the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Abbot*, in the Narrative under his own hand concerning his diſgrace at Court in the time of his late Majeſty. I ſhall onely in the way demand excuſe, if, contrary to my faſhion, the names of ſome eminent perſons in our Church long ſince dead, be reviv'd here under no very good character; and moſt particularly that of Archbiſhop *Laud*, who, if for nothing elſe, yet for his learned Book againſt *Fiſher*, deſerved far another Fate than he met with, and ought not now to be mentioned without due honour. But thoſe names having ſo many years ſince eſcaped the Preſs, it is not in my power to conceal them; and I believe Archbiſhop *Abbot* did not write but upon good Conſideration.

This

This I have premiſed for mine own Satisfaction, and I will add one thing more, Mr. *Bayes*, for yours. That whereas the things now to be alledged relate much to ſome Impoſitions of Money in the late King's time, that were carryed on by the Clergy; I know you will preſently be ready to carp at that, as if the Nonconformiſts had, and would be alwaies enemies to the Kings ſupply. Whereas, Mr. *Bayes*, if I can do the Nonconformiſts no good, I am reſolv'd I will do them no harm, nor deſire that they ſhould ly under any imputation on my account. For I write by mine own advice, and what I ſhall alledge concerning the Clergies intermedling with ſupplies, is upon a particular averſion, that I have upon good reaſon, againſt their diſpoſing of our Money. And, Mr. *Bayes*, I will acquaint you with the Reaſon, which is this. 'Tis not very many years ago that I uſed to play at *Picket*; And there was a Gentleman of your robe a *Dignitary of Lincoln*, very well known and remembred in the Ordinaries, but being

being not long ſince dead, I will ſave his name. Now I uſed to play *Pieces*, and this Gentleman would alwayes go half a Crown with me, and ſo all the while he ſat on my hand he very honeſtly *gave the Sign*, ſo that I was alwaies ſure to loſe. I afterwards diſcovered it, but of all the money that ever I was cheated of in my life, none ever vexed me ſo, as what I loſt by his occaſion. And ever ſince, I have born a great grudge againſt their fingring of any thing that belongs to me. And I have been told, and ſhow'd the place where the man dwelt in the late King's time near *Hampton Court*, that there was one that uſed to rob on the highway, in the habit of a Biſhop, and all his fellows rid too in Canonical Coats. And I can but fanſy how it madded thoſe, that would have perhaps been content to relieve an honeſt Gentleman in diſtreſs, or however would have been leſs griev'd to be robb'd by ſuch an one, to ſee themſelves ſo *Epiſcopally* pillaged. Neither muſt it be leſs diſpleaſing alwaies to the Gentry and Commonalty

of

of *England*, that the Clergy) as you do Mr. *Bayes*) ſhould tell them that they are never *ſui Juris*, not only as to their Conſciences, but even as to their Purſes; and you ſhould pretend to have this *power of the Keyes* too, where they lock their Money. Nay, I dare almoſt aver upon my beſt obſervation, that there never was, nor ever will be a Parliament in *England*, that could or can refuſe the King ſupplies proportionable to his occaſions, without any need of recourſe to extraordinary wayes; but for the pickthankneſs of the Clergy, who will alwaies preſume to have the thanks and honour of it, nay, and are ready alwayes to obſtruct the Parliamentary Aids, unleſs they may have their own little project paſs too into the bargain, and they may be gratified with ſome new *Eccleſiaſtical* Power, or ſome new Law againſt the *Fanaticks*. This is the naked truth of the matter. Whereas *Engliſh* men alwayes love to ſee how their money goes, and if there be any intereſt or profit to be got by it, to receive it themſelves. Therefore Mr.

Bayes

Bayes I will go on with my buſineſs, not fearing all the miſchief that you can make of it.

'There was, *ſaith he*, one *Sibthorp*, who 'not being ſo much as Batchelor of 'Arts, by the means of Doctor *Pierce* 'Vice-Chancelor of *Oxford*, got to be 'confer'd upon him the title of Doctor. 'This Man was Vicar of *Brackley* in '*Northamptonſhire*, and hath another 'Benefice. This Man preaching at '*Northampton*, had taught, that Prin-'ces had power to put Poll-money 'upon their Subjects heads. He being 'a Man of a low fortune, conceiv'd 'the putting his Sermon in Print might 'gain favour at Court, and raiſe his 'fortune higher. It was at the ſame time that the buſineſs of the Loan was on foot. In the ſame Sermon 'he 'called that Loan a Tribute, Taught 'that the Kings dutie is firſt to direct 'and make Laws. That nothing may 'excuſe the ſubject from active obedi-'ence, but what is againſt the Law of God 'or Nature, or impoſſible; that all Anti-'quity was abſolutely for abſolute o-

obe-

'obedience in all civil and temporal 'things. And the impoſing of Poll-monie by Princes, he juſtifi'd *out of* St. *Matthew*: And in the matter of the *Loan*, *What a Speech is this*, ſaith the Biſhop, *he obſerves the forwardneſs of the Papiſts to offer double.* For this Sermon was ſent to the Biſhop from Court, and he required to Licence it, not under his Chaplin, but his own hand. But he, not being ſatisfi'd of the Doctrine delivered, ſent back his reaſons why he thought not fit to give his approbation, and unto theſe Biſhop *Laud*, who was in this whole buſineſs, and a riſing Man at Court, *undertook an anſwer.* 'His life in *Oxford*, 'ſaith Arch-Biſhop *Abbot*, was to pick 'quarrels in the Lectures of publick 'Readers, and to advertiſe them to the 'Biſhop of *Durham* that he might fill the 'Ears of King *James* with diſcontent 'againſt the honeſt men that took pains 'in their places, and ſetled the Truth '(which he call'd Puritaniſm) in their 'Auditors. He made it his work to 'ſee what Books were in the Preſs,

'and

'and to look over Epiſtles Dedicatory,
'and Prefaces to the Reader, to ſee
'what faults might be found. 'Twas
'an obſervation what a ſweet Man this
'was like to be, that the firſt obſer-
'vable act he did, was the marrying of
'the Earl of *D.* to the Lady *R.* when ſhe
'had another Husband a Nobleman,
'and divers Children by him. Here
he tells how, for this very cauſe, King
James would not a great while endure
him, 'till he yielded at laſt to Biſhop
Williams his importunity, whom not-
withſtanding he ſtraight ſtrove to un-
dermine, and did it at laſt to purpoſe:
for ſaith the Archbiſhop, 'Verily,
'ſuch is his undermining nature, that
'he will under-work any Man in the
'World, ſo he may gain by it. *He*
'*call'd in the Biſhop of* Durham, Roche-
'ſter, *and* Oxford, tryed men for ſuch
'a purpoſe, to the anſwering of my
'Reaſons, and the whole ſtile of the
'Speech, runs We, We. In my me-
'mory, Doctor *Harſnet* then Biſhop of
'*Chicheſter*, and now of *Norwich* (*as he
came afterward to be Arch-biſhop of*
'York)

'York) preached at White-Hall upon, *Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars*; a Sermon that was afterwrds † 'burned, teaching that Goods and 'Money were Cæsars, and so the Kings: 'Whereupon King *James* told the 'Lords and Commons that he had 'failed in not adding according to the 'Laws and Customs of the Countrey 'wherein they did live. But *Sibthorp* 'was for absolutely absolute. So that if 'the King had sent to me for all my 'Money and Goods, and so to the 'Clergy, I must by *Sibthorps* proportion sent him all. If the King should 'send to the City of *London* to command 'all their wealth, they were bound to 'do it. I know the King is so gracious he will attempt no such matter; 'but if he do it not, the defect is not 'in these flattering Divines. Then he saith, reflecting again upon the Loan which *Sibthorp* called a Tribute. 'I am sorry at heart, the King's 'Gracious Majesty should rest so great a 'Building on so weak a Foundation, 'the Treatise being so slender, and without

'without ſubſtance, but that proceeded 'from an hungry Man. Then he ſpeaks of his own caſe as to the licenſing this Book, in parallel to the Earl of *Eſſex* his divorce, which to give it more authority, *was to be ratified judicially by the Arch-biſhop.* He concludes how finally he refuſed his approbation to this Sermon, and ſaith, 'it was 'thereupon carried to the Biſhop of 'London, who gave a great and ſtately 'allowance of it, the good Man not be-'ing willing that any thing ſhould ſtick 'with him that came from Court, as 'appears by a Book commonly called 'the ſeven Sacraments, which was al-'lowed by his Lordſhip with all the 'errours, which have been ſince ex-'punged. And he adds a pretty ſtory of one Doctor *Woral*, the *Biſhop of* London's *Chaplain, Scholar good enough, but a free fellow-like man, and of no very tender Conſcience*, who before it was Licenſed by the Biſhop, *Sibthorps* Sermon being brought to him, *hand over head approved it, and ſubſcribed his name.* But afterwards hearing more of it, went

to a Counſel at the *Temple*, who told him, that by that Book *there was no Meum nor Tuum left in* England, *and if ever the Tide turn'd he might come to be hang'd for it*, and thereupon *Woral ſcraped out his name again*, and left it to his Lord to Licenſe. Then the Arch-Biſhop takes notice of the *inſtructions for that Loan*. 'Thoſe that 'refuſed, to be ſent for Souldiers to the 'King of *Denmark*. Oaths to be ad-'miniſtred with whom they had confe-'rence; and who diſſwaded them, ſuch 'perſons to be ſent to priſon, &c. He 'ſaith that he had complain'd thrice of '*Mountagues* Arminian-Book, to no 'purpoſe: *Coſins* put out his Book of 'ſeven Sacraments (ſtrange things) 'but I knew nothing of it, but as it 'pleaſed my Ld of *Durham* and the Bp 'of *Bath*, *ſo it went*. In concluſion, the good Arch-biſhop for refuſing this Licenſe of *Sibthorps* Sermons, was, by the underworking of his adverſaries, firſt commanded from *Lambeth*, and confined to his houſe in *Kent*, and afterwards

terwards ſequeſtred, and a Commiſſion paſſed to exerciſe the Archiepiſcopall Juriſdiction to the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, *Oxford*, and Biſhop *Laud* (who from thence aroſe in time to be the Arch-biſhop.) If I had leiſure, how eaſy a thing it were for to extract out of the Narrative a juſt parallel of our Author, even almoſt upon all points: but I am now upon a more ſerious ſubject, and therefore ſhall leave the Application to his own ingenuity, and the good intelligence of the Reader.

About the ſame time (for I am ſpeaking within the circle of 2° 3°, and 4° *Caroli*) that this Book of *Sibthorps*, called *Apoſtolical Obedience*, was printed, there came out another of the ſame ſtamp, intitled *Religion and Allegiance*, by one Doctor *Manwaring*. It was the ſubſtance of two Sermons preached by him at *Whitehall*, beſide what of the ſame nature at his own Pariſh of Saint *Giles*. Therein he delivered for truth, 'That the King is not bound to obſerve 'the Laws of the Realm concerning

'the Subjects rights and liberties, but 'that his Royal word and command in 'impoſing Loans and Taxes without 'common conſent in Parliament, does 'oblige the Subjects Conſcience upon 'pain of eternal Damnation. That 'thoſe who refuſed to pay this Loan 'offended againſt the Law of God, and 'the Kings ſupream Anthority, and be-'came guilty of Impiety, Diſloyalty, 'and Rebellion. That the Authority 'of Parliament was not neceſſary for 'the raiſing of Aids and Subſidies, and 'the ſlow proceedings of ſuch great Aſ-'ſemblies were not fitted for the ſup-'ply of the States urgent neceſſities, 'but would rather produce ſundry im-'pediments to the juſt deſigns of Prin-'ces. And after he had been queſti-oned for this doctrine, nevertheleſs he preached again, 'That the King had 'right to order all as to him ſhould 'ſeem good, without any mans conſent. 'That the King might, in time of ne-'ceſſity demand Aid, and if the Sub-'ject did not ſupply him, the King 'might juſtly avenge it. That the

'Pro-

'Propriety of Eſtate and Goods was or-
'dinarily in the Subject, but extraor-
'dinarily in the King: that in caſe of
'the King's need, he hath right to
'diſpoſe them. He had beſides, en-
tring into compariſon, called the refu-
ſers of the Loan 'temporal Recuſants,
'and ſaid, the ſame diſobedience that
'they (the Papiſts as they then called
'them) practiſe in ſpirituals, that or
'worſe, ſome of our ſide, if ours they be,
'dare to practiſe in temporals. And
he aggravated further upon them under
the reſemblance of *Iurks*, *Jews*, *Corah*,
Dathan and *Abiram*. 'Which laſt, ſaid
'he, might as well liken themſelves to
'the three Children; or *Theudas* and *Ju-*
'*das*, the two Incendiaries in the daies
'of *Cæſar*'s tribute, might as well pre-
'tend their Cauſe to be like that of the
'*Maccabees*, as what the Refuſers al-
'ledged in their own defence.

I ſhould not have been ſo large in
theſe particulars, had they been onely
ſingle and volatile Sermons, but be-
cauſe this was then the Doctrine of
thoſe perſons that pretended to be the

Church of *England*. The whole Quire ſung that Tune, and in ſtead of the Common Law of *England*, and the Statutes of Parliament, that part of the Clergy had invented theſe *Eccleſiaſtical Laws*, which according to their predominancy, were ſure to be put in execution. So that between their own Revenue, which muſt be held *Jure Divino*, as every thing elſe that belong'd to them, and the Prince's that was *Jure Regio*, they had not left an inch of propriety for the Subject. It ſeem'd that they had granted themſelves *Letters of Repriſal* againſt the Laity, for the loſſes of the Church under *Henry the Eight*, and that they would make a greater havock upon their Temporalties in retaliation. And indeed, having many times ſince ponder'd with my greateſt and earneſt impartiality, what could be the true reaſon of the ſpleen that they manifeſted in thoſe daies, on the one hand againſt the *Puritans*, and on the other againſt the *Gentry*, (for it was come, they tell me, to *Jack Gentleman*.) I could not deviſe any cauſe

cauſe, but that the Puritans had ever ſince the Reformation, obſtructed that lazineſs and ſplendor which they injoyed under the Popes Supremacy, and the Gentry had (ſacrilegiouſly) divided the *Abby-Lands*, and other fat morſels of the Church at the Diſſolution, and now was the time to be revenged on them.

While therefore the Kingdom was turned into a Priſon, upon occaſion of this *Eccleſiaſtical Loan*, and many of the eminenteſt of the Gentry of *England* were under reſtraint, they thought it ſeaſonable to recover once again their antient Glory, and to *Magnificate* the Church with triumphal Pomp and Ceremony. The three Ceremonies that have the Countenance of Law, would not ſuffice, but they were all upon new Inventions, and happy was he that was endued with that capacity, for he was ſure before all others to be preferr'd. There was a *Second* Service, the *Table* ſet *Altar-wiſe*, and to be called the *Altar*, *Candles*, *Crucifixes*, *Paintings*, *Imagery*, *Copes*, *bowing to the Eaſt*, *bowing*

to the Altar, and ſo many ſeveral Cringes & Genuflexions, that a man unpractiſed ſtood in need to entertain both a Dancing-Maſter and a Remembrancer. And though theſe things were very uncouth to *Engliſh* Proteſtants, who naturally affect a plainneſs of faſhion, eſpecially in ſacred things; yet, if thoſe Gentlemen could have contented themſelves with their own Formalitie, the Innovation had been more excuſable. But many of theſe Additions, and to be ſure, all that had any colour of Law, were ſo impoſed and preſt upon others, that a great part of the Nation was e'n put as it were to fine and ranſom upon this account. What Cenſures, what Excommunications, what Deprivations, what Impriſonments? I cannot repreſent the miſery and deſolation, as it hath been repreſented to me. But wearied out at home, many thouſands of his Majeſties Subjects, to his and the Nations great loſs, thought themſelves conſtrained to ſeek another habitation, and every Country, even though it were among Savages and Caniballs, ap-

pear'd more hoſpitable to them than their own.

And, although I have been told by thoſe that have ſeen both, that our Church did even *then* exceed the *Romiſh* in Ceremonies and Decorations; and indeed, ſeveral of our Church did thereby frequently miſtake their way, and from a *Popiſh* kind of Worſhip, fell into the *Roman Religion*; yet I cannot upon my beſt judgment believe, that that party had generally a deſign to alter the Religion ſo far, but rather to ſet up a new kind of *Papacy* of their own, here in *England*. And it ſeemed they had, to that purpoſe, provided themſelves of a new Religion in *Holland*. It was *Arminianiſm*, which though it were the *Republican* Opinion there, and ſo odious to King *James*, that it helped on the death of *Barnevelt*, yet now they undertook to accommodate it to Monarchy and Epiſcopacy. And the choice ſeemed not imprudent. For on the one hand, it was removed at ſo moderate a diſtance from *Popery*, that they ſhould not diſoblige the *Papiſts* more than for-

formerly, neither yet could the *Puritans*, with juſtice reproach theſe men, as *Romiſh Catholicks*; and yet, on the other hand, they knew it was ſo contrary to the antient reformed Doctrine of the Church of *England*, that the *Puritans* would never imbrace it, and ſo they ſhould gain this pretence further to keep up that convenient and neceſſary Quarrel againſt Non-conformity. And accordingly it happened, ſo that here again was a new *Shiboleth*. And the *Calviniſts* were all ſtudiouſly diſcountenanced, and none but an *Arminian* was judg'd capable and qualified for imployment in the Church. And though the King did declare, as I have before mentioned, that *Mountague's* (*Arminian*) Book had been the occaſion of the Schiſms in the Church; yet care was immediately taken, by thoſe of the ſame robe and party, that he ſhould be the more rewarded and advanced. As alſo it was in *Manwarings* Caſe: who though by Cenſure in Parliament made incapable of any Eccleſiaſtical preferment, was ſtraight made Rector

of

of *Stamford-Rivers* in *Eſſex*, with a Diſpenſation to hold too his Living in St. *Giles*'s. And all dexterity was practiſed to propagate the ſame Opinions, and to ſuppreſs all Writings or Diſcourſes to the contrary.

So that thoſe who were of underſtanding in thoſe dayes tell me, that a man would wonder to have heard their kind of preachings. How inſtead of the practical Doctrine which tends to the reforming of Mens Lives and Manners, all their Sermons were a very Mask of *Arminian* Subtilties, of Ceremonies, and Decency, and of *Manwaring*, and *Sibthorpianiſm* brew'd together; beſides that in their converſation they thought fit to takeſome more licence the better to *diſ-Ghibelene* themſelves from the *Puritans*. And though there needed nothing more to make them unacceptable to the ſober part of the Nation, yet moreover they were ſo exceeding *pragmatical*, ſo intolerably ambitious, and ſo deſperately proud, that ſcarce any Gentleman might come near the Tayle of their Mules.

Mules. And many things I perceive of that nature do even yet ſtick upon the ſtomacks of the *Old Gentlemen* of thoſe times. For the *Engliſh* have been always very tender of their Religion, their Liberty, their Propriety, and (I was going to ſay) no leſs of their Reputation. Neither yet do I ſpeak of theſe things with paſſion, conſidering at more diſtance how natural it is for men to deſire to be in Office, and no leſs natural to grow proud and intractable in Office; and the leſs a Clergyman is ſo, the more he deſerves to be commended. But theſe things before mentioned, grew yet higher, after that Biſhop *Laud* was once not only exalted to the See of *Canterbury*, but to be chief Miniſter. Happy had it been for the King, happy for the Nation, and happy for himſelf, had he never climbed that Pinacle. For whether it be or no, that the Clergy are not ſo well fitted by Education, as others for Political Affairs, I know not; though I ſhould rather think they have advantage a-

bove

bove others, and even if they would but keep to their *Bibles*, might make the beſt Miniſters of State in the world; yet it is generally obſerved that things miſcarry under their Government. If there be any Counſel more precipitate, more violent, more rigorous, more extreme than other, that is theirs. Truly I think the reaſon that God does not bleſs them in Affairs of State, is, becauſe he never intended them for that imployment. Or if Government, and the preaching of the Goſpel, may well concur in the ſame perſon God therefore fruſtrates him, becauſe though knowing better, he ſeeks and manages his greatneſs by the leſſer and meaner *Maxims*. I am confident the Biſhop ſtudied to do both God and his Majeſty good ſervice, but alas how utterly was he miſtaken. Though ſo learned, ſo pious, ſo wiſe a Man, he ſeem'd to know nothing beyond *Ceremonies*, *Arminianiſm*, and *Manwaring*. With that he begun, and with that ended, and thereby deform'd the whole reign of the beſt

Prince

Prince that ever weilded the *Engliſh* Scepter.

For his late Majeſty being a Prince truly Pious and Religious, was thereby the more inclined to eſteem and favour the Clergy. And thence, though himſelf of a moſt exquiſite underſtanding, yet thought he could not truſt it better than in their keeping. Whereas every man is beſt in his own Poſt, and ſo the Preacher in the Pulpit. But he that will do the Clergyes drudgery, muſt look for his reward in another World. For they having gained this Aſcendent upon him, reſolv'd whatever became on't to make their beſt of him; and having made the whole buſineſs of State, their *Arminian* Jangles, and the perſecution for Ceremonies, did for recompence aſſign him that imagiuary abſolute Government, upon which Rock we all ruined.

For now was come the laſt part of the *Archbiſhops* indiſcretion; who having ſtrained thoſe ſtrings ſo high here, and all at the ſame time, which no wiſe man ever did; he moreover had

a

a mind to try the ſame dangerous Experiment in *Scotland*, and ſent thither the Book of the *Engliſh Liturgy*, to be impoſed upon them. What followed thereupon, is yet within the compaſs of moſt Mens memories. And how the War broke out, and then to be ſure Hell's broke looſe. Whether it were a War of Religion, or of Liberty, is not worth the labour to enquire. Which-ſoever was at the top, the other was at the bottom; but upon conſidering all, I think the Cauſe was too good to have been fought for. Men ought to have truſted God; they ought and might have truſted the King with that whole matter. The *Arms of the Church are Prayers and Tears*, the Arms of the Subjects are Patience and Petitions. The King himſelf being of ſo accurate and piercing a judgment, would ſoon have felt where it ſtuck. For men may ſpare their pains where Nature is at work, and the world will not go the faſter for our driving. Even as his preſent Majeſties happy Reſtauration did it ſelf, ſo all things

things elſe happen in their beſt and proper time, without any need of our officiouſneſs.

But after all the fatal conſequences of that Rebellion, which can only ſerve as Sea-marks unto wiſe Princes to avoid the Cauſes, ſhall this ſort of Men ſtill vindicate themſelves as the moſt zealous Aſſertors of the Rights of Princes? They are but at the beſt *well-meaning Zealots*. Shall, to decline ſo pernicious Counſels, and to provide better for the quiet of Government, be traduced as the Author does here, under theſe odious terms of *forſaking the Church, and delivering up the Church*? Shall theſe Men always preſume to uſurp to themſelves that venerable ſtile of the *Church of England*? God forbid. The *Independents* at that rate would not have ſo many diſtinct Congregations as they. There would be *Sibthorps*-Church, and *Manwarings*-Church, and *Mountagues*-Church, and a whole Bed-roll more, whom for decencies-ſake I abſtain from naming. And every Man that could invent a

new

new Opinion, or a new Ceremony, or a new Tax, ſhould be a new Church of *England*.

Neither, as far as I can diſcern, have this ſort of the Clergy ſince his Majeſties return, given him better incouragement to ſteer by their Compaſs. I am told, that preparatory to that, they had frequent meetings in the City, I know not whether in *Grubſtret*, with the Divines of the other party, and that there in their Feaſts of Love, they promiſed to forget all former Offences, to lay by all Animoſities, that there ſhould be a new Heaven, and a new Earth, all Meekneſs, Charity, and Condeſcention. His Majeſty I am ſure ſent over his Gracious Declaration of *Liberty to tender Conſciences*, and upon his coming over, ſeconded it with his Commiſſion under the broad Seal, for a Conference betwixt the two parties, to prepare things for an Accommodation, that he might confirm it by his Royal Authority. Hereupon what do they? Notwithſtanding this happy Conjuncture of his

Maſtie's Reſtauration, which had put all Men into ſo good a humour, that upon a little moderation & temper of things, the Nonconforminſts could not have ſtuck out; ſome of theſe Men ſo contriv'd it, that there ſhould not be the leaſt abatement to bring them off with Conſcience, and (which inſinuates into all men) ſome little Reputation. But to the contrary; ſeveral unneceſſary additions were made, only becauſe they knew they would be more ingrateful & *ſtigmatical* to the Nonconformiſts. I remember one in the *Letany*, where to *Falſe Doctrine and Hereſie*, they added *Schiſm*, though it were to ſpoil the *Muſick* and cadence of the period; but theſe things were the beſt. To ſhow that they were Men like others, even cunning Men, revengeful Men, they drill'd things on, till they might procure a Law, wherein beſides all the Conformity that had been of former-times enacted, there might be ſome new Conditions impoſed on thoſe that ſhould have, or hold any Church-Livings, ſuch as they aſſur'd themſelves, that

that rather than ſwallow, the Nonconformiſts would diſgorge all their Benefices. And accordingly it ſucceeded; ſeveral thouſands of thoſe Miniſters being upon one memorable day outed of their ſubſiſtence. His Majeſty in the meantime, although they had thus far prevailed to fruſtrate his Royal Intentions, had reinſtated the Church in all its former Revenues, Dignities, and Advantages, ſo far from the Authors miſchievous aſperſion of ever thinking of converting them to his own uſe, that he reſtored them free from what was due to him by Law upon their firſt admiſſion. So careful was he, *becauſe all Government muſt owe its quiet and continuance to the Churches Patronage*, to pay them, even what they ought. But I have obſerved, that if a Man be in the Churches debt once, 'tis very hard to get an acquittance: And theſe men never think they have their full Rights, unleſs they Reign. What would they have had more? They rowl'd on a flood of wealth, and yet in matter of a Leaſe, would make no difference be-

twixt a Nonconformiſt, and one of their own fellow ſufferers, who had ventur'd his life, and ſpent his Eſtate for the King's ſervice. They were reſtor'd to Parliament, and to take their places with the King and the Nobility. They had a new *Liturgy* to their own hearts deſire; And to cumulate all this happineſs, they had this new Law againſt the *Fanaticks*. All they had that could be deviſed in the World to make a Clergy-man good natur'd.

Nevertheleſs after all their former ſufferings, and after all theſe new enjoyments and acquiſitions, they have proceeded ſtill in the ſame track. The matter of Ceremonies, to be ſure, hath not only exerciſed their ancient rigour & ſeverity, but hath been a main ingredient of their publick Diſcourſes, of their Sermons, of their Writings. I could not (though I do not make it my work after a great example, to look over *Epiſtles Dedicatory*) but obſerve by chance the Title page of a Book 'tother day, as an *Emblem* how much ſome of them do neglect the Scripture in reſpect

ſpect to their darling Ceremonis. A *Rationale upon the Book of Common-Prayer of the Church of England by* A. Sparrow, *D. D. Biſhop of* Exon. *With the Form of Conſecration of a Church or Chappel, and of the place of Chriſtian Burial.* By Lancelot Andrews *late Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter. Sold by Robert Pawlet at the Sign of the Bible in Chancery Lane.* Theſe ſurely are worthy cares for the Fathers of the Church.

But to let theſe things alone; How have they of late years demean'd themſelves to his Majeſty, although our Author urges their immediate dependance on the King to be a great obligation he hath upon their Loyalty and Fidelity? I have heard that ſome of them, when a great Miniſter of State grew burdenſome to his Majeſty and the Nation, ſtood almoſt in defiance of his Majeſties good pleaſure, and fought it out to the uttermoſt in his defence. I have been told that ſome of them in a matter of *Divorce*, wherein his Majeſty deſired that Juſtice might be done to the party agriev'd,

oppoſed him vigorouſly, though they made bold too with a point of Conſcience in the caſe, and went againſt the Judgment of the beſt Divines of all parties. It hath been obſerved, that whenſoever his Majeſty hath had the moſt urgent occaſions for ſupply, others of them have made it their buſineſs to trinkle with the *Members of Parliament*, for obſtructing it, unleſs the King would buy it with a new Law againſt the Fanaticks. And hence it is that the Wiſdom of his Majeſty and the Parliament muſt be expoſed to after ages for ſuch a *Superfœtation of Acts* in his Reign about the ſame buſineſs. And no ſooner can his Majeſty upon his own beſt Reaſons try to obviate this inconvenience, but our Author, who had before out-ſhot *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring* in their own Bows, is now for retrenching his Authority, and moreover calumniates the State with a likelyhood, and the reaſons thereof of *the return of Popery* into this Nation. And this hath been his firſt Method by the *Fanaticks raiſing*

raiſing diſturbance: whereupon, if I have raked farther into things than I would have done, the Author's Indiſcretion will, I hope, excuſe me, and gather all the blame for reviving thoſe things which were to be buried in Oblivion. But, by what appears, I cannot ſee that there is any probability of diſturbance in the State, but by men of his ſpirit and principles.

The Second way whereby the Fanatick party, he ſaith, may at laſt work the ruine of the Church, is *by combining with the Atheiſts, for their Union is like the mixture of Nitre and Charcoal, it carries all before it without mercy or reſiſtance.* So it ſeems, when you have made Gun-powder of the Atheiſts and Fanaticks, we are like to be blown up with Popery. And ſo will the Larks too. But his zeal ſpends it ſelf moſt againſt the *Atheiſts*, becauſe they uſe to *jear the Parſons.* That they may do, and no Atheiſts neither. For really, while Clergy men will, having ſo ſerious an office, play the *Drols* and the Boon-companions, and make merry

with the Scriptures, not onely among themſelves, but in Gentlemen's company, 'tis impoſſible but that they ſhould meet with, at leaſt, an unlucky Repartee ſometimes, and grow by degrees to be a tayle, and contempt to the people. Nay, even that which our Athour always magnifies, the Reputation, the Intereſt, the ſecular grandure of the Church, is indeed the very thing which renders them ridiculous to many, and looks as improper and buffooniſh, as to have ſeen the Porter lately in the good *Doctors Caſſock* and Girdle. For, ſo they tell me, that there are no where more Atheiſts than at *Rome*, becauſe men ſeeing that Princely garb and Pomp of the Clergy, and obſerving their life and manners, think therefore the meaner of Religion. For certainly, the Reputation and Intereſt of the Clergy, was firſt gained by abſtracting themſelves from the world, attending their Callings, Humility, ſtrictneſs of Doctrine, and the ſame ſtrictneſs in Converſation; and things are beſt preſerved by the ſame means they were at

firſt

firſt attained. But if our Author had been as concern'd againſt Atheiſme, as he is againſt their diſreſpect of his function, he ſhould have been content that the Fanatick Preachers might have ſpent ſome of their *Pulpit-ſweat* upon the Atheiſts, and made a noiſe in their ears, about *Faith, Communion with God, attendance upon Ordinances*, which he himſelf jears at ſo pleaſantly. Neither do I like upon the ſame reaſons his manner of Diſcourſe with the Atheiſts, where he complains that ours are not like thoſe good Atheiſts of former times, who never did thruſt themſelves into publick cares and concerns, 'mind-'ing nothing but Love, Wine, and 'Poetry. Nor in another place, 'Put 'the caſe the Clergy were Cheats and 'Juglers, yet it muſt be allowed they 'are neceſſary Inſtruments of State to 'aw the Common People into fear and 'obedience, becauſe nothing elſe can 'ſo effectually inſlave them ('tis this it ſeems our Author would be at) 'as 'the fear of inviſible powers, and the 'diſmall apprehenſions of the world to 'come;

'come: and for this very reaſon, 'though there were no other, it is fit 'they ſhould be allowed the ſame ho- 'nour and reſpect, as would be ac- 'knowledged their due, if they were 'ſincere and honeſt men. No Atheiſt could have ſaid better. How mendicant a cauſe has he here made of it; they will ſay, They ſee where the ſhoo wrings him, and that though this be ſome ingenuity in him, yet it is but little Policy. Nay, perhaps they will ſay, That they are no Atheiſts neither, but only, I know not by what Fate, every day, one or other of the Clergy does, or ſaith, ſome ſo ridiculous and fooliſh thing, or ſome ſo prity accident befalls them, that in our Authors words, a *man muſt be very ſplenetick that can refrain from laughter.* I would have quoted the page here, but that the Author has, I think for evaſion ſake, omitted to number them in this whole Preface. But whether there be any Atheiſts or no, which I queſtion more than Witches, I do not for all this take our Author to to be one, though ſome would conclude

it

it out of his Principles, others out of his Expreſſions. Yet really, I think he hath done that ſort of men ſo much ſervice in his Books, by his ill handling, and while he perſonates one party, making all Religion ridiculous, that they will never be able to requite him but in the ſame manner. He hath opened them a whole Treaſury of words and ſentences, univerſally applicable; where they may rifle or chuſe things, which their pitiful wit, as he calls it, would never have been able to invent and flouriſh. But truly, as the ſimple *Parliament* 5° *Eliz.* never imagined what conſequence that clauſe in the *Wedneſday Faſt* would have to *Puritaniſm*, neither did he what his *Periods* would have to Atheiſm; and yet though he is ſo more excuſable, I hope, I may have the ſame leave on him, as he on that *Parliament*, to cenſure his Impertinence. To cloſe this; I know a Lady that chid her Maſter of the Horſe for correcting the *Page* that had ſworn a great Oath. For, ſaith ſhe, *The Boy did therein ſhow only the Generoſity of his Courage*

rage, and his acknowledgement of a Deity. And indeed, he hath approv'd his Religion, and juſtified himſelf from Atheiſm much after the ſame manner.

The third way and laſt (which I being tired, am very glad of) by which the Fanaticks may raiſe Diſturbances, and ſo *introduce Popery*, is by joyning crafty and ſacrilegious States-men into the Confederacy. But really here he doth ſpeak concerning King, and Counſellors, at ſuch a rate, and deſcribe and characterize ſome men ſo, whomſoever he intends, that though I know there are no ſuch, I dare not touch, it is too hazardous. 'Tis true he paſſes his Complement ill-favouredly enough. 'The Church has at preſent an im-'pregnable affiance in the wiſdom, &c. 'of ſo gracious a Prince, that is not 'capable of ſuch Counſels, ſhould they 'be ſuggeſted to him: though certain-'ly no man that is worthy to be admit-'ted to his Majeſties Favour or Privacy; 'can be ſuppoſed ſo fool-hardy or pre-'ſumptuous as to offer ſuch weak and 'diſhonourable Advice to ſo wiſe and

'able

'able a Prince; Yet Princes are mor-
'tal, and if ever hereafter, (and ſome
'time or other it muſt happen) the
'Crown ſhould chance to ſettle upon
'a young and unexperienced head, this
'is uſually the firſt thing in which
'ſuch Princes are abuſed by their Kee-
'pers and Guardians, &c. But this Complement is no better at beſt, than if diſcourſing with a man of another, I ſhould take him by the Beard. Upon ſuch occaſions in company, we uſe to ask, Sir, *Whom do you mean?* I am ſure our Author takes it alwayes for granted, that his Anſwerer intends him upon more indefinite and leſs direct provocations. But our Author does even perſonate ſome men as ſpeaking at preſent againſt the Church, 'They will
'intangle your affairs, indanger your
'ſafety, hazard your Crown. All the
'reward you ſhall have to compenſate
'your misfortunes, by following
'Church Counſels, ſhall be that a few
'Church-men, or ſuch like people, ſhall
'cry you up for a Saint or a Martyr. Still *your, your*, as if it were a cloſe

dif-

diſcourſe unto His Majeſty himſelf. Though if this were the worſt that they ſaid, or that the Author fathers upon them, I wiſh the King might never have better Counſellors about him. But if the Author be ſecure, for the preſent, in his Majeſties Reign, fears not Popery, not forſaking the Church, not aſſuming the Church Revenues, why is he ſo provident? why put things in men's heads they never thought of? why ſtir ſuch an odious, ſeditious, impertinent, unſeaſonable diſcourſe? why take this very minute of time, but that he hath miſchief, to ſay no worſe, in his heart? He had no ſuch remote conceit (for all his talk) of an *Infant* coming to the Crown. He is not ſo weak but knows too much, and is too well inſtructed, to ſpeak to ſo little purpoſe. That would have been like a ſet of *Elſibeth Players*, that in the Country having worn out and over-acted all the Playes they brought with them from *London*, laid their wits togetther to make a new one of their own. No leſs man than *Julius Cæſar* was the Argument

ment; and one of the chief parts was *Moſes*, perſwading *Julius Cæſar* not to make War againſt his own Countrey, nor paſs *Rubicon*. If our Author did not ſpeak of our preſent times (to do which nevertheleſs had been ſufficiently falſe and abſurd) but writ all this meerly out of his Providence for after ages, I ſhall no more call him *Bayes*, for he is juſt ſuch a *ſecond Moſes*. I ask pardon, if I have ſaid too much, but I ſhall deſerve none, if I meddle any further with ſo improbable and dangerous a buſineſs.

To conclude, the Author gives us one ground more, and perhaps more *Seditiouſly* inſinuated than any of the former; that is, if *it ſhould ſo prove*, that is, if the *Fanaticks by their wanton and unreaſonable oppoſition to the ingenious and moderate Diſcipline of the Church of* England, *ſhall give their Governours too much reaſon to ſuſpect that they are never to be kept in order by a milder, & more genle Government than that of the Church of* Rome, *and force them at laſt to ſcourge them into better manners*,

ners, with the Briars and Thorns of their Diſcipline. It ſeems then that the Diſcipline contended about, is worth ſuch an alteration. It ſeems that he knows ſomething more than I did believe of the Deſign in the late times before the War. Whom doth he mean by *our Governours?* the King; No, for he is a ſingle perſon. The Parliament, or the Biſhops.

I have now done, after I have (which is I think due) given the Reader, and the Authour, a ſhort account how I came to write this Book, and in this manner. Firſt of all, I was offended at the preſumption and arrogance of his ſtile; whereas there is nothing either of Wit, or Eloquence in all his Books, worthy of a Readers, and more unfit for his own, taking notice of. Then his infinite *Tautology* was burdenſome, which ſeem'd like marching a Company round a Hill upon a pay-day ſo often, till if the Muſter-maſter were not attentive, they might receive the pay of a Regiment. All the variety of his Treat is *Pork* (he knows

knows the ſtory) but ſo little diſguiſed by good Cookery, that it diſcovers the miſerableneſs, or rather the penury of the Hoſt. When I obſerved how he inveighs againſt the *Trading-part* of the Nation, I thought he deſerved to be within the *five mile Act*, and not to come within that diſtance of any Corporation. I could not patiently ſee how irreverently he treated Kings and Princes, as if they had been no better then *King Phys*, and *King uſh* of *Branford*. I thought his profanation of the Scripture intolerable; For though he alledges that 'tis only in order to ſhew how it was miſapplyed by the Fanaticks, he might have done that too, and yet preſerved the Dignity and Reverence of thoſe Sacred Writings, which he hath not done; but on the contrary, he hath in what is properly his own, taken the moſt of all his Ornaments, and Imbelliſhments thence in a ſcurrilous and ſacrilegious ſtile; inſomuch that were it honeſt, I will undertake out of him to make a better, that is a more ridiculous and

profaner Book, than *all the Friendly Debates* bound up together. Methought I never ſaw a more bold and wicked attempt, than that of reducing *Grace*, and making it a meer *Fable*, of which he gives us *the Moral*. I was ſorry to ſee that even Prayer could not be admitted to be a Virtue, having thought hitherto it had been a *Grace*, and a peculiar gift of the Spirit; But I conſidered, that that Prayer ought to be diſcouraged, in order to prefer the *Liturgy*. He ſeem'd to ſpeak ſo little like a Divine in all thoſe matters, that the *Poet* might as well have pretended to be the *Biſhop Davenant*, and that deſcription of the Poets of *Prayer* and *Praiſe* was better than our Authors on the ſame Subject. *Canto* the 6th, where he likens Prayer to the Ocean;

For Prayer the Ocean is where diverſly
Men ſteer their courſe each to a ſeveral coaſt,
Where all our intereſts ſo diſcordant lye,
That half beg winds, by which the reſt are loſt.

And Praiſe he compares to the Union of Fanaticks and Atheiſts, *&c.* that is *Gunpowder*; *Praiſe is Devotion fit for mighty minds*, &c.

Its utmoſt force, like Powder, is unknown.
And though weak Kings exceſs of praiſe may fear,
Yet when 'tis here, like Powder, dangerous grown,
Heavens vault receives, what would the Palace tear.

Indeed all *Aſtragon* appear'd to me the better *Scheme of Religion.* But it is unneceſſary here to recapitulate all, one by one, what I have in the former Diſcourſe taken notice of. I ſhall only add, what gave, if not the greateſt, yet the *laſt* impulſe to my writing.

ting. I had obſerved in his firſt Book, p. 57. that he had ſaid 'Some pert 'and pragmatical Divines, had filled 'the world with a Buzze and Noiſe of 'the Divine Spirit; which ſeemed to me ſo horribly irreverent, as if he had taken his ſimilitude from the *Hum and Buz* of the *Humble-Bee* in the *Rehearſal*.

In the ſame Book, I have before mentioned that moſt unſafe paſſage, of our *Saviour being not only in an hot fit of zeal, but in a ſeeming fury and tranſport of Paſſion*. And ſtriving to unhook himſelf hence. p. 152. of his Second Book, Swallows it deeper, ſaying, *Our bleſſed Saviour did in that action take upon him the Perſon and Priviledge of a Jewiſh Zealot*. Take upon him the Perſon, that is *Perſonam induere*. And what part did he play? Of a *Jewiſh Zealot*.

The Second Perſon of the Trinity (may I repeat theſe things without offence) to take upon him the Perſon of a Jewiſh Zealot, that is, of a notorious Rogue and Cut-throat.

This ſeemed to proceed from too

ſlight

ſlight an Apprehenſion and Knowledge of the duty we ow to our Saviour. And laſt of all, in this Preface, as before quoted, he ſaith, the *Nonconformiſt Preachers do ſpend moſt of their Pulpit-ſweat in making a noiſe about Communion with God.* So that there is not one Perſon of the Trinity that he hath not done deſpight to: and leſt he ſhould have diſtinct Communion with the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, for which he mocks his Anſwerer; he hath ſpoken evil diſtinctly of the Father, diſtinctly of the Son, and diſtinctly of the Holy Ghoſt. That only remain'd behinde, wherein our Author might ſurpaſs the Character given to *Aretine*, a famous man of his Faculty.

Qui giace il Aretino
Chi de tutti mal diſſe fuor d' Addio
Ma di queſto ſi ſeuſa perche n'l conobbe.

Here lies Aretine,
Who ſpoke evil of all, except God only.
But of this he beggs excuſe, becauſe he did not know him.

And

And now I have done. And I ſhall think my ſelf largely recompenſed for this trouble, if any one that hath been formerly of another mind, ſhall learn by this Example, that it is not impoſſible to be merry and angry as long time as I have been writing, without profaning and violating thoſe things which are and ought to be moſt ſacred.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 2. line 25. for *ripugnia*, read *ripugni a.* P. 6. l. 2. f. *Schiſmatical*, r. *Syſtematical.* P. 29. l. 11. f. *the*, r. *their.* l. 25. f. *to to*, r. *to do.* P. 53. l. 26. f. *Sun*, r. *Earth.* P. 67. l. 5. r. *his.* P. 81. l. 27. f. *him*, r. *them.* P. 83. l. 7. f. *Ragouſe*, r. *Ragouſt.* P. 84. l. 16. f. *Deſart*, r. *Deſſert.* P. 90. l. 18. f. *Dame*, r. *Maid.* P. 108. l. 21. f. *diſcern*, r. *deſire.* P. 124. l. 27. f. *them*, r *him.* P. 132. l. 5. f. *Podoſtrabee*, r. *Podoſtrahe.* f. *Dactylethree*, r. *Dactylethræ.* f. *Otagree*, r. *Otagre.* P. 136. l. 19. f. *Sea*, r. *See.* P. 138. l. 10. f. *appear*, r. *apart.* P. 142. l. 14. f. *many*, r. *he ſaith men.* P. 162. l. 7. f. *deſign'd*, r. *deign'd.* P. 168. l. 23. f. *he*, r. *ſhe.* P. 172. l. 24. r. *Hittitiſm.* P. 185. l. 10. f. *lacque*, r. *Laquey.* P. 152. l. 11. f. *alſo*, r. *all ſo.* P. 253. l. 13. f. *Pecks*, r. *Peeks.* P. 262. l. 18. f. *brought*, r. *bought.* P. 269. l. 22. f. *Papiſt*, r. *Popiſh.* P. 295. l. 14. f. *mask*, r. *Maſh*, P. 277. l. 26. f. *held*, r. *help'd.*

Could limme a landskape by deep meditation,
Scarce could it match, where braveſt youths abound,
And graveſt counſellours are alwayes found:
Where Juſtice joineth hand with true Religion,
And golden vertue keep the middle region,
As regiſter, where theſe acts are enrold,
Better than in *Corinthian* braſſe or gold.
Let Poetaſter-paraſits, who fain,
And fawn, and crouch, and coutch, and creep for gain,
And, where no hope of gain is, huffe, and hur,
And bark againſt the Moone as doth a Cur;
Let ſuch baſe curs, who nought but gobbets ſmell,
Wiſh the diſgrac'd, and deeply ſunk in hell

Whether

Miraculouſly in times moſt deſperate.
And *Iohn* the *Grahame*, his mate, and brother ſvvorn,
VVhoſe living fame his name doth much adorn?
And if vve liſt this ſubject more to handle,
What Governour like good Earle *Thomas Randall?*
Or doughtie *Douglas* vvith couragious heart,
Whoſe name vvrought dreadfull terrour in each part?
But this heroick theme, ſo paſſing great,
Impoſſible it is all to relate,
Our worthie rulers even unto thir dayes
They do not want their own deſerved praiſe,
Nor ſhall they for my part want due renown,
Vertue t'advance, and vice to trample down.

Theſe

But moſt of all by Heaven, vvhich hath appointed
This maiden crovvn for thee, the Lords Anointed,
The man of his right hand, and for thy ſeed,
VVhich God mot bleſſe and all vvho ſhall proceed
Forth of thy loines, and ſtabliſh in thy place
So long as Sun and Moone ſhall run their race.
Then reigne, great *Charles*, our noſtrels ſvveeteſt breath,
Long may thou reigne *Defender of the Faith*,
Inthron'd among theſe vvorthie peerleſſe pearles,
And let all ſay, *God ſave our good King Charles*;
And deeply in his heart imprint that zeale,
To make the lavv ſupreame the peoples vvell.
VVhat ſhall vve ſpeak of Martiall Chiftans more?
Of *Gideons*, and of *Sampſons* vve have ſtore,
VVhom God did raiſe, for to defend our ſtate
Miraculouſly, in times moſt deſperate.
And *Iohn* the *Grahame*, his mate, and brother ſvvorn,

These be the wall of Gods own work and framing
Against our foes, and of his own maintaining,
Wherefore we blesse his holy Name that made us,
And pray that never forraine scepter lead us,
T'impose hard lawes, and tributaries make us,
To chastise us with scorpions, and to rake us;
And likewise pray, that *Ajax*-like, we would not
Undo our selves, which all our enemies could not.

EDINBURGH.

But O dear *Caledonia*! What desire
Have all men who have heard thy fame t'admire
Thy monuments? How much more these who be
Thy sons, desire thy maiden soile to see?
Thy maiden castle, and fair *Maiden-burgh*,
The stately winged Citie, which is through
All ages much renow'nd with streets so fair,
And palaces so mounted in the air.

All ages much renown'd with ſtreets ſo fair,
And palaces ſo mounted in the air